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Toward an Alternative Theory of Self and Identity for Understanding and Investigating Adherence to Exercise and Physical Activity

by

Kerry R. McGannon ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

There is a need to better understand the initiation and maintenance of exercise and physical activity programs because despite the known benefits of exercise, physical inactivity remains pervasive. Self and identity have emerged as important concepts in helping to explain the adherence problem. However, how and why these concepts influence exercise behavior is not yet fully understood. A major reason for this lies in social psychology's adherence to a view of the self grounded in a "representational" approach to language which assumes language functions solely as a descriptive device designed to re-present the world.

The present dissertation developed an alternative theory of self and identity grounded in a view of language that prioritizes the process and outcome of language, and how it is tied to discursive, cultural, social, and institutional practices. Feminist post-structuralism, ethnomethodology, and narrative psychology were combined to theorize women's self and identity (i.e., who they are) and, implicitly, exercise behavior as a collection of conversations they have with themselves and others or, more specifically, as narratives/stories spoken from subject positions within larger discourse(s).

An in-depth case study of "Joan" was used to illustrate the foregoing theory. Joan, her husband, and exercise partner/co-worker were interviewed over sixteen weeks as she attempted to integrate exercise into her life. A discourse analysis of the narratives revealed that "Joan" was constructed by herself and significant others within six primary discourses: discourse of the body, discourse of exercise and physical appearance, discourse of exercise and physiology, a patriarchal discourse of the family, discourse of motherhood, and a liberal feminist discourse. This had implications for Joan's lack of

exercise behavior.

These results illustrate that the transition into exercise involves a complex and dynamic process of identity transformation within a multitude of discourses which predispose people to particular linguistic and behavioral practices. The implications for intervention included a need to focus upon the discourses that Joan and her significant others continually draw upon, the taken for granted terms and conversational accounts they make to themselves and each other, and the implicit historical, social, and behavioral practices that reified and held these in place.

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Table of Contents

Page Number

Chapter I

Constructing the Problem... 1

Chapter II

Toward a Theory of Self and Identity for Investigating Exercise Adherence... 9
- Traditional Views of Self and Identity..................... 11
- Self, Identity, and Exercise Adherence..................... 22
- Summary and Conclusions................................. 25

A Discursive Conception of Self and Identity..................... 27
- Language and Behavior.................................... 30
- Conceptualizing the Self................................... 36
- Exercise Behavior and the Self............................. 37

Discursive Approaches to Self and Identity........................ 46
- Ethnomethodology... 48
- Post-structuralism... 55
- Narrative Psychology...................................... 66
- Summary.. 73

Chapter III

Methodology... 76

Method.. 78
- Participants.. 80
- Interviews.. 83
- Exercise Program and Exercise Behavior.................... 84
- Introducing Discourse Analysis............................ 85
- Principles for Analysis.................................... 88
- Distinguishing Discourses................................. 89
- Stages of Discourse Analysis.............................. 100
- Computer Assisted Analysis................................ 104

Chapter IV

Results Introduction.. 108
- Background Information................................... 110
- A Typical Day... 114

Chapter V

Results Part One.. 117
- Discourse of the Body..................................... 119
- Discourse of Exercise and Physical Appearance............. 122
- Discourse of Exercise and Physiology...................... 124

Joan's View of Why She Exercises................................. 127

Table of Contents...

Page Number

Joe's View of Why Joan Exercises.. 146
Ray's View of Why Joan Exercises....................................... 156
Discussion.. 162
    Body "Building" in Discourse.. 163
    Exercise and the Good Mother....................................... 184
    (Mis)Understandings of Exercise.................................... 191

Chapter VI

Results Part Two.. 213
    The Patriarchal Discourse of the Family........................ 215
    Discourse of Motherhood... 218
    Liberal Feminist Discourse.. 220
Joan's Relationship History.. 223
Why Can't Joan Exercise at Work?................................... 229
    Being Too Tired to Exercise... 231
    Flextime, Workplace Conflicts and Lack of Exercise Time... 247
    Ray's Lack of Resistance.. 257
Why Is Work the Only Time Joan Can Exercise?................. 263
Discussion.. 273
    The Discursive Production of Self, Identity, and Exercise Adherence... 274
    Implications for Intervention and Change....................... 294

Chapter VII

Conclusions, Limitations, and Future Directions............... 299
    Conclusions.. 299
    Limitations.. 305
    Summary... 317

References... 320

List of Tables

Page Number

Chapter V (Results Part One)

Table One: Key features of three discourses for reasons to exercise... 118-119

Chapter VI (Results Part Two)

Table Two: Key features of discourses used for making sense of Joan's situation.......................... 214-215

List of Appendices

Page Number

Appendix A

Informed Consent and Information Letter – Exerciser............ 339
Information Letter for Participation in Research – Exercisers.... 340 - 341

Appendix B

Informed Consent and Information Letter – Significant Others..... 342
Information Letter for Participation in Research – Significant Others.. 343 – 344

Appendix C

Personal Information – Exercisers...................................... 345

Appendix D

Initial Interview Questions – Exerciser................................. 346

Appendix E

Interview Questions (During Program) – Exercisers.................... 347

Appendix F

Interview Questions (Follow-Up) – Exercisers.......................... 348

Appendix G

Initial Interview Questions – Significant Others........................ 349

Appendix H

Final Interview Questions – Significant Others.......................... 350

CHAPTER I

Constructing the Problem

The notion that engaging in habitual exercise and physical activity is beneficial is not novel. For example, it has recently been concluded that physical activity not only reduces the risk of premature mortality in general, but also reduces the risk of developing diseases such as coronary heart disease, diabetes, hypertension, and colon cancer (U.S. Department of Health, 1996). Additionally, participation in physical activity can improve mental health (U.S. Department of Health, 1996) and have positive psychosocial benefits, such as providing opportunities for affiliation with others (Gould & Horn, 1984), opportunities for enjoyment in group settings (Wankel, 1985), and improved life quality (Silvestin, 1997; Vuori, 1998). Together, these benefits strengthen the argument that regular exercise and physical activity can enhance one's overall state of health.

Despite these known benefits, adherence to exercise and physical activity programs remains a problem. In fact, more than 60% of North American adults are not regularly active, while 25% of all adults are completely sedentary (Surgeon General, 1996). Of those beginning exercise programs, approximately 50% drop out within the first six months, with most of the attrition occurring in the first two to four months (Dishman, 1994). Recently in Canada, it was concluded that despite substantial developments aimed at reducing sedentary living during the eighties and early nineties, progress is now at a standstill, with 63% of Canadians aged 18 and older remaining insufficiently active to accrue health benefits (Craig, Russell, Cameron, & Beaulieu, 1999).

Rectifying this adherence problem has proved neither easy nor straightforward. Early work on exercise adherence was criticized for being atheoretical (Dishman, 1982; Godin & Shephard, 1983). As a result, it was thought to result in a poor understanding of the adherence problem, the consequence of which was low levels of adherence to physical activity programs (Dishman, 1994).

The subsequent use of theoretical tools to study adherence afforded researchers opportunities to explore and learn about the effects of possible influences on exercise adherence. For example, interventions to increase exercise and/or physical activity have combined features of either behavior modification or cognitive behavior modification strategies. These include behavioral contracting (Wysocki, Hall, Iwata & Riordan, 1979), motivational balance sheet procedures (Wankel & Thompson, 1977; Wankel, Yardley & Graham, 1985), the use of individualized feedback and praise provided by an instructor during exercise (Martin, Dubbert, Katell, Thompson, Raczynski, Lake, Smith, Webster, Sikora & Cohen, 1984), and goal setting procedures (Martin et al., 1984; Turner, Polly & Sherman, 1976).

In the past fifteen years, researchers employing Social Cognitive Theories, which assume people contribute to their own motivation within a system of triadic reciprocality (i.e., environment, personal factors, and behavior interact to influence one another bidirectionally (Bandura, 1989; Maddux, 1995)), have generated an abundance of research. In particular, researchers interested in adherence to exercise and physical activity have employed these theories to investigate concepts such as the self and identity. This focus on self-related phenomena is in light of their influence on, and determination of, people's thoughts, feelings, and exercise behavior.

These avenues of research have been thought fruitful because they have allowed researchers not only to account for possible determinants and mechanisms of exercise participation, but also to do so employing the aforementioned theoretical approaches. This latter point has been regarded as particularly important because, as mentioned, the absence of theory in past investigations of exercise adherence was thought to result in a poor understanding of the adherence problem, the consequence of which was low levels of adherence to physical activity (Dishman, 1982, 1994; Godin & Shephard, 1983).

Thus, utilizing these theoretical approaches has undoubtedly enhanced our understanding of exercise adherence. In so doing, self and identity have emerged as important concepts in the prediction and explanation of exercise behavior. Indeed, within exercise psychology, "volumes of rhetoric and research that would require a lifelong jail sentence to fully absorb have expounded the nature and the implications of self-concept, self-esteem, and identity" (Fox, 1997, p. vii). For example, self-efficacy (Mihalko, McAuley, & Bane, 1996; Rodgers & Brawley, 1996), physical self-concept (Fox, 1997; Marsh & Sontstroem, 1995), self-schemata (Kendzierski, 1988, 1990, 1994) and exercise identity (Anderson, Cychosz, & Franke, 1998; Cardinal & Cardinal, 1997) are just some of the self-related concepts that have emerged.

Despite this abundance of research on the self implicating the usefulness of the concept for explaining and understanding exercise behavior, as noted, the adherence problem is far from being solved. Thus, while employment of the self and self-related phenomena have undoubtedly facilitated understandings of exercise adherence, current approaches to studying the self have not yet solved the adherence problem. Even more important to attend to is the fact that, despite frequent use of these concepts in social psychological research, *how* and *why* they influence behavior, and in particular exercise behavior, is not yet fully understood and explicated. Thus, if we are to progress in our understanding of the self and its link to exercise behavior, potential reasons as to why this understanding and explication of the self continually eludes us need to be addressed.

It has been suggested that a major reason for this lack of understanding lies in social psychology's adherence to a view of the self grounded in the notion of a *natural* and *obvious* separation of self and society (Gergen, 1994; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; 1994; Tolmon, 1998). Stated differently, most theories of the self view it as either a structure or process residing within the mind of the individual, or as a socially given property of culture or structural locations that later become internalized into the mind of the individual (Cerulo, 1997). As a result, "the self or its equivalent is treated as a *middle term*, an internal something that mediates between external input and behavior" (Tolmon, 1998, p. 7).

However, while this view of the self has provided a powerful framework for understanding and analyzing social behavior, it has also "constrained theories, methods, and dominant interpretations of social behavior" (Markus & Kitayama, 1994, p. 576).

This latter statement is reinforced by developments within discursive psychology (e.g., Edwards, 1997; Edwards & Potter, 1992; Harré, 1995; Harré & Gillett, 1994) and cultural psychology (e.g., Bruner, 1990; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; 1994) that suggest this view of the self is only *one* possible conception of the self upon which to base research. Moreover, these perspectives provide support for the consideration of an alternative conception of the self grounded in a view of language that gives primacy to the *process* and *outcome* of language, as opposed to the content, and how it is tied to discursive and social practices. Stated differently, mental processes, or in this case self-related phenomena, are regarded as being constituted and brought into being in social activity, particularly in *discourse* (Billig, 1997).

Such a conception becomes particularly important to progress in understanding the self and behavior because it allows researchers to uncover and study aspects of social behavior not well captured in leading social psychological theories of the self (Markus & Kitayama, 1994). For example, by focusing on language and discourse, social psychologists are afforded opportunities to study how people talk about the self (e.g., what self-conceptions are available in everyday talk) and how those self-related terms are *used* in practice (e.g., what are the social and behavioral effects). Additionally, the *discourses* that afford and limit those ways of speaking and behaving and the institutional and material bodies that hold them in place can also be studied. As a result, the self can be removed from "within the head" and situated in discourse and social and institutional conduct, providing researchers with new ways to conceptualize, study, and modify social behavior.

Furthermore, because of this primacy accorded to discourse and social practices, psychologists need no longer concern themselves with trying to show that this word or that concept corresponds to this or that process or structure within the head or mind. Instead, psychologists can focus on what they know exists: conversations. This would be conversations people have with themselves or those with imagined and actual others, as well as the institutional and material bodies that (re) produce these. Additionally, such a conception raises an awareness of the taken-for-granted common sense notions psychologists have about self-related concepts or "facts" about people, a prerequisite deemed necessary to bring about further understanding and change when it comes to the self (Henriques, Hollway, Urwin, Venn, & Walkerdine, 1984).

The research described herein seeks to explore the foregoing developments collectively known as "discursive psychology". The intention is to utilize those developments toward the development of an alternative theory of the self and identity for the purpose of investigating and understanding exercise adherence. Such a theory is grounded in a view of language attending to the *ways* people *use* their words, as opposed to solely what those words represent, and the behavioral outcomes that result (e.g., exercise or sedentary behavior). Specifically, self and identity are explored as *linguistic phenomena* or *conversations within discourses* people have with themselves and others on a regular and habitual basis. In turn, the construal and maintenance of a particular view of the self or identity is linked to either exercise behavior or other behaviors that encouraged one to remain sedentary.

To accomplish the foregoing, the chapter that follows includes a discussion of traditional views of the self and identity within social psychology and how these have informed leading conceptions and investigations of the self, identity, and exercise adherence. The limitations of these approaches are discussed, and an alternative discursive conception of the self and identity for investigating exercise adherence is put forward. What that conception can contribute toward understanding and investigating the adherence problem is then outlined. The third chapter that follows describes the empirical research through which the ideas delineated in Chapter Two were explored.

Toward that end, I studied a woman who was 35 years of age, worked full time, was the primary caregiver of two young children ages one and three, and was trying to incorporate a program of regular exercise (e.g., running three times per week) into her life after having been sedentary. I followed her over a period of twelve weeks, interviewing her four times throughout this process, as well as conducting a follow-up interview with her four weeks later. Additionally, I also interviewed the woman's husband and co-worker/exercise partner on two separate occasions (i.e., at the beginning and end of the twelve weeks). The results are divided into two separate chapters. Prior to presenting and discussing these, a fourth chapter includes an introduction of the overarching goal that each of the results chapters will accomplish.

Additionally, in order to set the context of what is to follow in the results chapters, this chapter also includes a brief description of the characteristics of the woman whose exercise behavior was followed and what a typical day was like for her. The fifth chapter will be one of two results chapters which will present three pertinent discourses within which the woman and her significant others made sense of her exercise behavior to explore the following question: why did the woman whose exercise behavior was studied want to exercise? The second results chapter (i.e., sixth chapter) will also outline three pertinent discourses that the woman and her significant others drew upon to explore the following question: why did the woman not adhere to her exercise program? Each of these chapters will be followed by a separate discussion of what the foregoing results had for the woman's identity construction and exercise behavior and will be framed in terms of the alternative discursive conception of self and identity put forward in Chapter Two. The seventh and final chapter concludes with a discussion of the implications of what was learned overall by the results delineated in Chapters Five and Six as well as a discussion of limitations and future research directions.

CHAPTER II

Toward a Theory of Self and Identity for Investigating Exercise Adherence

> …the existence of one's own self is the one fact of which every mortal person – every psychologist included – is perfectly convinced
>
> Allport, 1943, p.451

> Self and identity are crucial to making sense of the thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of individuals, and this intrapersonal level is most often the province of psychologists. The constructs self and identity are also important to explaining the formation, maintenance, and dissolution of interpersonal bonds – both personal and role relationships
>
> Ashmore & Jussim, 1997, p.11&12

> A man has as many social selves as there are individuals who recognize him
>
> James, 1890, p.294

Within social psychology, self and identity are regarded as important and crucial concepts for making sense of human behavior. Particularly, in western culture, everyone is thought not only to have a sense of self, but the self we have is also regarded as a social phenomenon. Stated differently, who we are is thought to be reciprocally influenced by our relationships with others, and to provide the key to understanding how and why we think, feel, and behave as we do, as well as the impetus for life and relationship enrichment.

The reverence of these concepts within psychology is illustrated by the volume of literature published in recent years. Counting the number of abstracts on the computerized version of *Psychological Abstracts*, Ashmore and Jussim (1997) found a total of 31,550 psychological publications on self and identity from 1974 to 1993. The subject headings with the largest number of abstracts fell under 'self-concept' and 'self-perception', with 7,739 and 4,897 abstracts respectively.

Examples of literature within social psychology focusing on the self include review articles condensing decades of empirical research on self-related phenomena in the *Annual Review of Psychology* (e.g., Banaji & Prentice, 1994; Markus & Wurf, 1987). Additionally, journal issues pertaining to the collective self (Miller & Prentice, 1994; Turner, Oakes, Haslam, & McGarty, 1994), various self-related handbook chapters (Cantor, Markus, & Niedenthal, & Nurius, 1986; Greenwald & Pratkanis, 1984), and edited volumes (see Berkowitz, 1988), further attest to the importance ascribed to self and identity for understanding human behavior.

In the context of the foregoing. this chapter will bring several key points forward with respect to self and identity. First, traditional conceptions of the self within social psychology will be discussed in order to show that the typical ways of dealing with the self within social psychology subscribe to common underlying assumptions. In turn, how these assumptions inform current investigations and understandings of the concepts with respect to exercise adherence will be discussed. Finally, the limitations of utilizing solely this approach to investigate self, identity, and exercise adherence will be summarized.

Following this, the discursive perspective will be introduced, as well as how self and identity are conceptualized from this perspective, and what this implies for exercise behavior. This is to better clarify why, from a discursive perspective, self and identity are important concepts at which to direct our theoretical and research efforts, as well as how and why such an understanding provides an important avenue into understanding adherence to exercise.

Finally, theoretical traditions associated with discursive psychology will be discussed. Specifically, the ethnomethodological (Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 1984), post structuralist (Dews, 1987; Weedon, 1987) and narrative psychological (Bruner, 1987, 1990; Murray, 1995) traditions will be outlined and explored to clarify what these traditions can contribute toward a theory of self and identity for the purpose of investigating and advancing our understanding of exercise adherence.

Traditional Views of Self and Identity

While there are numerous definitions and theories when it comes to self and identity-related phenomena, views of the self within social psychology typically tend to subscribe to a common underlying assumption as to how and why the self is linked to human behavior. That assumption, in brief, is that the self and its related phenomena are things-in-themselves that can be measured or uncovered somewhere deep within the mind of the individual. Additionally, self and identity can also be viewed as being socially given by the culture or as properties of structural locations (Cerulo, 1997); i.e., different roles (e.g., wife, husband) or conceptions of the self (e.g., collective or public) can become internalized into the self, thereby affecting thoughts and behavior. Viewed in this way, the self is regarded as a *distinct* entity that resides within the mind and/or society.

This assumption is based upon a "representationalist" account of language that regards words as merely the labels with which we refer to the things in the world. Thus, from this perspective when we speak of self or identity-related phenomena such as 'self-schemata', 'physical self-concept', or 'exerciser identity', it is taken for granted that those words are to be equated with things inside the minds of people. Thus, the concepts and theories of self and identity with which social psychologists account for behavior are understood to correspond to the elements of cognition and the processes by which they interact.

This is not to say that social psychologists have denied or ignored that the self is interdependent with historically changing ways of describing and relating to the self (Danziger, 1997). For example, it has been acknowledged that how the self is viewed within western culture is the result of romanticist discourses (i.e., the self has a deep interior) and modernist discourses (i.e., the self consists of mechanisms/processes common to all people) (Baumeister, 1986, 1997; Danziger, 1997; Gergen, 1991). However, because these discourses are so pervasive when talking about people, social psychologists tend to conceptualize and study the self as if it "exists as a phenomenon, quite independently of the methods we use to observe it and the language we use to describe it" (Danziger, 1997, p. 140). Thus, while it is likely that many researchers simply view the self as a concept or tool for understanding and explicating human behavior, as opposed to actually believing that the self exists somewhere within the mind, they proceed otherwise. This has resulted in theorizing about the self in ways that subscribe to the assumption outlined above.

In turn, research questions aimed at investigating the self tend to focus either explicitly on the individual mind, or on how the separate and distinct social and cultural environment can influence the inner mechanisms, processes, and depths of the inner self. Thus, when exploring self and identity, researchers might ask what identities or self-processes do people *have?* What *criteria* can distinguish self and identity-related phenomena from one another? And what part do the self and identity play in maintaining society and enabling social structures and institutions (Widdicombe, 1998)? Implicit in all of these questions is the goal of delineating general principles by which people and society function or how social behavior comes about.

Viewing the self this way has allowed researchers to learn a great deal about the self and social behavior (Gergen, 1994; Markus & Kitayama, 1994). However, what has also resulted is a largely individualistic view of what characterizes the self. Markus & Kitayama (1994) summarize these ideas as follows:

> The model that underlies virtually all current social science views the self as an entity that (a) comprises a unique, bounded configuration of internal attributes (e.g., preferences, traits, abilities, motives, values, and rights) and (b) behaves primarily as a consequence of these internal attributes. It is the individual level of reality—the thoughts and feelings of the single individual – that is highlighted and privileged in the explanation and analysis of behavior (p. 569).

A great deal of scholarship is based upon and supports these ideas. For example, Markus and Wurf (1987) took stock of research on the self and its related phenomena (e.g., self-presentation, self-concept) since Allport's (1943) call for research on the self forty years prior. This discussion of research began by noting that, the unifying premise of the last decade's research on the self is that the self-concept does not just reflect ongoing behavior but instead mediates and regulates this behavior. In this sense the self-concept has been viewed as dynamic—as active, forceful, and capable of change. It interprets and organizes self-relevant actions and experiences; it has motivational consequences, providing the incentives, standards, plans, rules, and scripts for behavior; and adjusts in response to challenges from the social environment (Markus & Wurf, 1987, pg. 299-300).

Thus, the self, or in this case the self-concept, is viewed as an entity that reflects, influences, and regulates how we think, feel, and behave. Additionally, the idea of *having* multiple selves, or *having* a self-concept that, despite being affected by the social environment, remains separate and distinct from the environment, is pervasive. As a result, research focuses on examining concepts that are located within the mind of the individual. Moreover, with this view of the person, questions aimed at investigating the self and behavior have an implicit dualism (Gergen, 1994; Tolmon, 1998). For example, questions such as "How does the social world inform the cognitive world of the self?" or "How is our repository of internal thoughts, self-conceptions, and self-schemata built up from our experiences?" suggest that self and society are being viewed as separate and distinct entities from one another; i.e., the self can influence society and society can influence the self.

To further illustrate, consider other examples of research discussed by Markus and Wurf (1987) which focused on how the self-concept guides and controls behavior. In this case, empirical works were placed under headings such as *Content and Structure*, with research discussed within sub-headings such as "the multi-faceted self-concept", and "types of self-representations". Conclusions made from this research were that self-concept and identity theorists viewed the self-concept as containing a wide variety of representations (e.g., cognitive or affective), and that an important future research task was to understand how these representations regulate behavior, and in turn, how actions might influence those self-representations.

Research was also discussed with respect to "self-regulation" which refers to the role of self-structures in the regulation and maintenance of behavior. Other areas examined included "intrapersonal processes" which pertains to cognitive processes *within* the individual which are mediated by the self-concept; and finally, "interpersonal processes" which is how self structures perceive and influence social interactions.

From this review it was concluded that, while a reciprocal relationship between self and behavior was assumed, it had less often been addressed. As a result, a significant gap was thought to exist in the understanding of when and how self-representations control behavior, as well as how interpersonal events affect the structure and organization of self-conceptions (Markus & Wurf, 1987). Additionally, it was suggested that developing a model of self-concept to explicate its continuous and stable nature and simultaneously reflect how it is dynamic, particularly as it *reflects* and *mediates* people's actions in social contexts, would be advantageous.

Other studies in the 1980s continued to theorize and study self and identity in terms similar to the foregoing. However, the notion of the self as a singular, solely cognitive entity was disregarded. Instead, the self was redefined as multifaceted, capable of change, and an initiator of motivation and behavior. Thus, while influenced by the social environment, the concept remained separate and distinct from the social world, and within the mind. Pertinent chapters in edited volumes of the *Handbook of Social Cognition* (e.g, Greenwald & Pratkanis, 1984) and the *Handbook of Motivation and Cognition* (e.g., Cantor, Markus, Niedenthal, & Nurius, 1986) inform these ideas.

For example, Greenwald and Pratkanis (1984) discussed research with respect to people having a multiplicity of selves (i.e., the diffuse self, the public self, the private self, and the collective self). These selves are formed and shaped by experiences and, ultimately, influence and direct behavior depending upon the social context. They concluded their review of studies by defining the self "as a complex, person-specific, central, attitudinal schema" (p.130). Cantor et al., (1986) explored motivation and its connection to self-relevant cognition(s) with respect to goal-directed behavior. The literature reviewed focused upon multiple and dynamic facets of the self-concept. Specifically, studies suggested that the self-concept is a diverse collection of images and cognitions about the self (e.g., good selves, bad selves, hoped-for-selves). The central thesis was that *all* conceptions of the self have the potential to influence individual functioning. Moreover, self-conceptions not only motivate behavior, but they form the "rich and complex *internal life* that is the basis of much overt behavioral change" (Cantor et al., 1986, p. 103, emphasis added). From this discussion, it was concluded that self-knowledge is dynamic and "plays an influential role in directing and inciting diverse forms of social behavior" (Cantor et al., 1986, p. 118).

A more recent review of the self in social contexts (Banaji & Prentice, 1994) examined how the self is a director of social cognition and social behavior. In other words, the intention was to focus less explicitly on cognitive aspects of the self and more on how culture and the social world of the individual influenced views of the self and behavior. In this review, research from 1988 to 1992 was examined in order to ascertain what had been learned about the self in this regard, and where future research might focus. Studies were discussed under headings such as Motives of the Self (e.g., self-knowledge and self-enhancement) in which it was concluded this motivational approach had been productive because it allowed for the prediction and explanation of social behavior. Other areas of focus were strategies of the self (e.g., social reasoning strategies, social comparison and interaction strategies, self-presentation strategies, and collective identification strategies), and also moderating variables (e.g., social categories, such as gender and ethnicity) which were thought to moderate the use of people's self-strategies.

Overall, this extensive review concluded that much had been learned by researchers in light of the fact that the self had been studied in various social contexts. For example, factors such as social categories and cultural origins had been shown to moderate the formation and use of self-strategies. Thus, research had included societal and cultural norms and influences with respect to the self and social behavior. Finally, with this focus on contexts *outside* of the self, as well as cognitive or *internal* aspects of the self, it had also been demonstrated that the self-concept was malleable during life transitions.

The inclusion of culture and social relationships in the study of self and identity within traditional views of the self has also been interesting and informative for conceptualizations of self and identity departing slightly from those outlined thus far. For example, a conception of the self has also been advocated which suggests the self is first and foremost *relational* and experienced *collectively*. This notion can be traced back to James' (1890) early conception of the self as a personal and highly social phenomenon (i.e., other people form an intricate part of self-conception). Other advocates of this self and identity conception include developmental psychologist Baldwin (1897), and symbolic interactionists Cooley (1902) and Mead (1934), all of whom advocated the view that identity is an inherently and completely social phenomenon (i.e., we could not come to know who we are without having others reflect that back to us). More specifically, in this view, one's self and identity is the result of the interaction between self and society. However, despite this inclusion of others into the self and identity, people are still thought to have an inner core or essence (e.g., the "real me") which is formed and modified via a continual interchange of dialogue between the cultural world outside and the identities offered (Sparkes, 1997).

Drawing upon ideas these ideas, contemporary cultural psychologists have also suggested that the self is inherently social, and as such, cannot be viewed as "an independent entity separate from the collective but instead as a priori fundamentally *interdependent* with others" (Markus & Kitayama, 1994, p. 570). In this sense, while everyone is hypothesized as *having* private self-knowledge or *subjectivity*, the relational self or *intersubjectivity*, is given primacy in individual experience.

Additionally, while it is possible for people to have either an independent or interdependent construal of the self, which one is salient depends upon how divergent 'cultural self-schemata' influence individual experience (Markus & Kitiyama, 1991). In this way, a key difference between a view of the self that is *interdependent* as opposed to *independent* is the role that is assigned to others in defining one's self within this 'self-system'. For example, while others and the social context are viewed as important in any self-construal, an *interdependent* self would first and foremost include others within its boundaries due to relations with others being the key defining features of the self. In this way, while there is ultimately a 'mediating self-system' *within* the individual, it is first and foremost derived from the collective or one's social relationships.

Therefore, self-regulatory schemata will be recruited and organized differently depending on whether or not one construes one's self as independent and distinct from the collective or as interdependent with the collective. For example, an interdependent self-construal would include information about significant others. In turn, someone who has this interdependent view of the self would also be internally motivated by this view to actions that enhance connections with others (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). In contrast, someone with an independent view of the self would emphasize more self-salient attributes, being motivated to actions that allow expressions of more self-defining inner attributes (e.g., hardworking, caring).

Finally, proponents of this view suggest the self and the collective cannot be regarded as separate, advocating the abandonment of dualism when it comes to conceptualizing self and identity (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; 1994). For example, in this view, if people experience and characterize themselves as private, independent, self-contained entities, this is so because society's daily practices and formal institutions promote a self that is autonomous and distinct from the collective. The most compelling research to support and illustrate these ideas comes from studies of other cultures (e.g., Japanese) which suggest the self as a cognitive and psychic entity is an experience unique to an individualistic Western culture (Kondo, 1990; Kumagai & Kumagai, 1985; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; 1994). For example, westerners tend to characterize the self more in terms of what is inside and private to the individual (e.g., one's characteristic ways of behaving, habitual and unique thoughts, feelings). However, Japanese culture tends to emphasize important features of the self as attributes that connect them to larger social relationships (e.g., social roles, duties, and obligations). More importantly, studies of other cultures which do not place the individual at the center of experience, but rather subscribe *solely* to a relational and collective view of who and what people are, suggest that people experience themselves as such. The opposite is true for people in Western cultures, wherein more individualistic definitions and psychological discourses prevail with respect to who and what people are (see Kondo, 1990; Markus & Kitayama, 1994).

Other research informing this conception of a collective/relational self comes from a special issue of *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* devoted exclusively to the collective self. As the term is used within this issue, "collective" refers to a diversity of articles and studies that regard the self not as independent, but as "socially responsible, interdependent, and socially encumbered" (Miller & Prentice, 1994, p. 453).

For example, Turner, Oakes, Haslam, and McGarty (1994) argued that while there is a distinction between personal self and identity (e.g., I and me), people have also *internalized* a social identity (e.g., we and us). To elaborate on these ideas, self-categorization theory (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987) is employed. This theory subscribes to the notion that people have two different levels of self-categorization; i.e., people have a social identity and a personal identity, and at times, define themselves in terms of others existing *outside* of themselves. As a result, one cannot always be reduced to personal identity and, in particular, what matters is how the self is defined within a specific context, and the subjective sense of self that results due to comparison and self-categorization.

Based on these ideas, a view of the self is proposed regarding self-categorization as variable, fluid, and contextually dependent. From this, it can no longer be inferred that the self is a fixed mental structure but, rather, "the expression of a dynamic process of social judgment" (Turner et al., 1994, p. 458). In this way, there is thought to no longer be a distinction between a self that is active and stored; but rather, the self is a functional property of a larger cognitive system, as well as a product of a working cognitive system.

It is important to note that the argument put forward in this alternative self-conception is not that the self is purely a social construction, with no "psychologically based stability". Instead, three important points about the self and the collective are concluded. These points included that first there *is* a collective self within the person, emergent via variations in self-definitions. Second, the collective self *reflects* and reciprocally allows for the emergent processes and products of social life. And, finally, the self functions as a channel by which collective processes mediate individual human cognition (Turner et al., 1994).

Self, Identity, and Exercise Adherence

Studies on the self and identity in the area of exercise adherence tend to follow in the footsteps of the foregoing, grounding research in a view of the self that is also separate and distinct from society (i.e., there is an implicit dualism). Moreover, it is also a view that regards the self, and hence studies it, as processes and mechanisms that reside within, or become internalized into, the mind of the individual.

For example, Anderson and Cychosz (1995), Cardinal and Cardinal (1997), Storer, Cychosz and Anderson (1997), and Theodorakis (1994) have based their research on a social cognitive perspective that suggests a reciprocal relationship between role identities and exercise behavior. Specifically, it has been hypothesized that as people engage in behaviors associated with their role identities (e.g., exerciser), and display positive changes in fitness, they may then have their identity as exercisers socially reinforced and validated. Moreover, once behaviors associated with a particular role identity are mobilized, the role-identity of 'exerciser' becomes an important part of one's self-concept. In this regard, studies conducted by these researchers have found that whether or not one "sees" him/herself as an exerciser will influence one's level of, and adherence to, physical activity. Thus, role identities *outside* of the self will motivate behaviors that will have meanings consistent with the identity *inside* of the self.

Other related work comes from Kendzierski's (1988; 1990; 1994) program of study which focuses on self-schema and exercise participation. Employing an exercise self-schema measure, Kendzierski (1988) has identified exerciser schematics (people schematic for exercising), aschematics (those not schematic for exercise), and nonexerciser schematics (those schematic for not exercising). As the term is used here, "schematic" refers to one viewing exercise as extremely self-descriptive (e.g., exerciser schematics) or extremely non-descriptive (e.g, nonexerciser schematics) of who they are, and they view exercise or non-exercise to be extremely important to their self-image. Conversely, people who are aschematic consider exercise to be either moderately descriptive or nondescriptive of who they are, and thus would not view exercise as being important to their self-image.

While by no means intended as a comprehensive overview, these studies are intended to exemplify how self and identity are typically regarded and studied with respect to exercise adherence. In addition, it can also be noted that there are numerous examples of studies employing self-related phenomena in the study of participation in, and adherence to, exercise and physical activity in a similar manner. For example, Fox's (1997) edited volume, *The Physical Self: From Motivation to Well-being,* brings together different perspectives on the self and identity as the terms apply to exercise behavior. Chapters by various authors discuss concepts such as 'self-motivation' and the 'physical self-concept' as objects/entities that influence and regulate exercise and physical activity participation.

Additionally, there is an abundance of literature implicating concepts such as 'self-efficacy' (Mihalko, McAuley, & Bane, 1996; Rodgers & Brawley, 1996), self-esteem (McAuley, Mihalko, & Bane, 1997; Palmer, 1995; Sonstroem, 1997), and 'self-concept' (Marsh & Sontstroem, 1995) as important motivators and regulators of people's exercise and physical activity behavior. Studies employing these concepts view them as possessions or attributes of the individual's internal psychological make-up which has a triadically reciprocal relationship with the environment and behavior; i.e., environment, personal factors, and behavior interact to influence one another bidirectionally (Bandura, 1989; Maddux, 1995). For example, individuals who have high self-efficacy or who perceive they have the skills and resources necessary for exercise would be more likely to exercise. As a result, exercise behavior might be modified by influencing or changing things *outside* of the person (e.g., watching similar others have success, directly experiencing performance success), which in turn might strengthen self-efficacy beliefs *within* the person.

Regardless of the self-related concept or term employed, when studying exercise adherence, all of the aforementioned studies approach self and identity as having separate features/facets that can be systematically observed and described (Danziger, 1997). Thus, the self is viewed, whether as a role or schema one has for exercise, or as concepts that influence internal psychological phenomena and processes (e.g., motivation, self-esteem, self-concept), as an entity or thing-in-itself that influences how people think, feel, and behave with respect to exercise.

In turn, what one says and does is viewed as a *reflection* of some facet or aspect of one's self or identity. Thus, participants in studies can report on what identity they *have* or how they see themselves, and this in turn aides researchers in the prediction and explanation of exercise behavior. In this way, self and identity are viewed as *explanatory concepts* that allow researchers to account for exercise behavior in terms of them.

Summary and Conclusions

To summarize, three important conclusions can be made in regards to traditional and leading views of the self and identity within social psychology as it pertains to the exercise adherence literature. First, the concepts of self and identity, however defined or theorized, are treated as things-in-themselves that influence and direct behavior and experiences. They are typically viewed as multiple and changing because, as people have experiences, they form 'cognitive structures' and 'self-conceptions' within the mind related to those experiences. These self-conceptions are diverse and dynamic because our experiences are diverse and dynamic. Moreover, these self-conceptions are given or taken-for-granted as inherent *properties* of people and societies. In turn, these self-conceptions are regarded as important motivators, regulators, and explanations of social behavior. The result is a highly individualistic view of the self, despite attempts to incorporate relationships with others and other societal influences into its content and structure.

The second conclusion is that leading views of the self and identity make a strong and evident distinction between the subjects and objects of knowledge, with mind and consciousness *reflecting* nature (Gergen, 1994). Stated differently, discourses grounded in the notion of an individual and rational subject are pervasive, despite critiques suggesting otherwise (e.g., Gergen, 1994; Henriques et al., 1984; Tolmon, 1998). In light of this underlying assumption, questions aimed at investigating the self tend to focus on the intricacies of the mind and the mental and structural processes, or on structures and properties within society that become internalized into the mind (Henriques et al., 1984).

Finally, despite proponents of an alternative view (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991; 1994; Turner et al., 1994) grounded in the intersubjective seeking to avoid separating self and society, a conception of self and identity ultimately residing within the mind is still advocated (Gergen, 1994; Henriques et al., 1984;; Tolmon, 1998). This is because people are regarded as having a self or various selves within them, the likes of which are not only shaped by culture, but also are assimilated into differential 'self-regulatory schemata'. As a result, it is taken for granted that all people *have* a self, even though its contents, motivations, and behavioral outcomes differ, and how that is experienced and articulated across cultures may differ. This means that what is culture and what is social remains distinct and separate from what is psychological or an in-the-head-phenomena. The cultural and social environment can certainly affect how one interprets and perceives one's self, and people may even perceive and experience themselves collectively, yet this is still assimilated into, and stored within, the mind.

What then results is the collective self (e.g., social/cultural aspects of the self) and the private self (e.g., individualistic aspects of the self), and both are *cognitive structures* one can draw upon with differential feelings, experiences, and behavioral outcomes resulting depending on the context.

A Discursive Conception of Self and Identity

All of the foregoing conclusions stem from what was described earlier as a "representational" account of language. To reiterate, such an account assumes that words represent, mirror, or correspond to that to which they refer; i.e., language functions as a *descriptive device* designed to re-present the world. To be sure, research on the self and its related phenomena grounded in this view has opened up broad and exciting lines of inquiry, as well as furnished creative solutions to long standing problems (Gergen, 1994). However, subscribing solely to this view has also limited the kinds of conceptions, questions, and methodologies utilized when it comes to investigating and understanding self and identity. These taken together have limited our understanding of what constitutes self, identity, and their link to exercise behavior.

For example, when investigating the self and its related phenomena, questions always lead back or pertain to the mind that is a unique and internal possession of the individual. In turn, people are regarded as either having or missing different self-related terms such as 'motivation', 'mood', or 'self-regulatory schemata'. In practice, this approach has worked quite well for the simple reason that researchers and subjects use the same or similar terms when making sense of behavior. For example, psychologists utilize categories such as 'motivation', 'mood', and 'self-regulatory schemata' to try to explain and make sense of human behavior. But the subjects whose behavior is being investigated are also prone to speaking in terms of "mood" and "motivation". Thus, the temptation is to take respondents' measures of these entities as indicative of their actual presence with the result being that one is using that which one wishes to investigate as a means of investigating it (Bittner, 1965). If there is an advantage to this, it is that one is able to readily access the entities in which one is interested. However, what should be evident here is that this does pose some methodological difficulties. After all, if what we are interested in is the nature of some internal phenomenon such as 'motivation', it no longer makes sense to inquire as to how "motivated" respondents might be, since the nature of 'motivation' and, thus, the meaning of the term, is what is under investigation. Similar difficulties arise with the vast majority of the self-related constructs used within representational psychology, and in part, it is the desire to avoid these difficulties that is the impetus for exploring discursive psychology.

Additionally, by subscribing solely to a representational perspective, researchers have not explored the possibility of what people accomplish by *speaking in terms of a self*, nor how various self-related descriptions available for *use* in discourse via the *conversations* people have with themselves and others are linked to everyday social practices. Why is this of interest and importance? Because research is mounting to suggest that people learn how to use words and phrases and what they mean by noting how, and under which conditions, they are conventionally used and the social and behavioral effects that result (Austin, 1962; Wittgenstein, 1953), rather than simply by labeling some mental entity. While this will be expanded upon shortly, for now it can simply be noted that words and concepts have effects for speakers and listeners because words, depending upon the discourse within which they are uttered, predispose us to particular experiences and behaviors.

Research on identity grounded in this notion suggests that identity is *not* a unique, internal possession of an individual, but is worked up in conversations people have with themselves and others (e.g., Capps & Ochs, 1995; Coupland & Coupland, 1994; Coupland, Coupland, & Giles, 1991; Coupland, Coupland, & Grainger, 1991; Paeoletti, 1998a, 1998b). Research on the collective self previously discussed also lends support to this notion via the fact that different cultures (e.g., Western, Japanese) emphasize different views of the self, predisposing people to experience themselves as either more individualistic, or more interdependent with others. While it was noted that proponents of this view emphasize what people say about themselves as being a path to, or reflection of, a particular identity, an interesting and alternative interpretation of this would be that the *discursive resources* at people's disposal predispose them to experience and construct particular views of themselves. If this idea were embraced, this would mean that we ought to view discourse as producing people within a culture, as opposed to people within a culture producing discourse that influences or reflects self-regulatory schemata and other self-related phenomena. Moreover, we would regard discourse(s) rather than internal mental processes and mechanisms as making particular conversations with and about our selves, and certain behavioral outcomes more likely.

With these ideas put forward, a discursive conception of self and identity can now be explored more in-depth, as well as what that affords researchers interested in the self, identity, and exercise adherence.

Language and Behavior

In contrast to traditional views of the self, a discursive conception of self and identity subscribes to very different assumptions as to what the self and identity are and how they are linked to human behavior. Fundamental to a conception of the self from a discursive perspective is the view that language is inseparable from thinking, reasoning, and social life. For example, we read newspapers and books, or watch television and movies, all of which utilize language to convey a particular message or meaning (Spradley, 1979). Additionally, most forms of social interaction involve some sort of language exchange. The same could be said for the interaction we have with our self; i.e., in "thinking" by ourselves, we utilize language to make sense of who we are as well as what we should do given the circumstances.

In this way, language can be viewed as being inherently *dialogical* (Bakhtin, 1981), meaning that people are constantly engaged in conversations with various others as they go about making sense and meaning of their daily lives. When reading, watching television, accounting for what has transpired in the present and past, or will transpire in the future, people have conversations with themselves (e.g., an other known as the self), and real or imagined others (e.g., the author of a book, character(s) in a film, family, friends, the person they wish they were).

In addition to this, language also has the capacity to formulate and construct behavior. This is because human beings have an innate capacity for language *use* (Chomsky, 1965; Vygotsky, 1962). If we did not have some sort of capacity for language or symbolic representations, it is difficult to imagine how we could think, reason, or communicate (Potter & Wetherell, 1987), not to mention how we could come to behave in particular ways, in particular circumstances. The reason for this lies in the fact that people adopt particular views of the world and ways of acting via indirect socialization whereby they attend to how persons around them represent and construct the world through *language* (Capps & Ochs, 1995). However, this is not to suggest that words and concepts provide a template for behavior, allowing people to act accordingly and explain their actions because this or that word corresponds to this or that structure, process, or concept. Instead, it suggests that language is a medium for, and is constitutive of, action (as this statement is used here, "language as action" refers to words and sentences doing particular things and having particular effects).

This idea is derived from the works of Wittgenstein (1953) and Austin (1962), and it necessitates that we pay attention to the ways in which people use their words. Because, as mentioned, people learn how to use words and phrases and what they mean not by virtue of labeling some internal mental state or because of some property inherent to words in and of themselves. Rather, they learn the meaning of words and phrases by noting how, and under which conditions, they are conventionally *used*. Furthermore, in learning the conventionally accepted criteria for meanings and functions of words and concepts, people also learn associated social activities and outward behaviors that coincide with the occasions for their use. Thus, words gain their meanings from the way(s) they are used by people as they go about their daily lives.

In order to illustrate, consider a common reason someone might provide to themselves or others to avoid exercise; "I am too tired". This phrase predisposes people to particular feelings, experiences, and, ultimately, ways of speaking and behaving, not simply because it labels or corresponds to the internal phenomenon of *feeling tired.* Instead, people have seen and noted how other people conventionally use the term under particular conditions and in particular circumstances, with particular outcomes or effects resulting. Thus, people learn what are the typically acceptable criteria for appearing tired, and the criteria and meaning of that word or concept will also be derived in the context within which it is uttered. This means that we come to understand the meaning of words and what they imply by virtue of what they are different from, in contrast to, or exclude (Derrida, 1973; Spradley, 1979). As well, the meanings of words are dependent upon the discursive context within which they are uttered, with discourse predisposing us to particular ways of speaking, feeling, and behaving. Stated differently, a discourse furnishes us with a particular set of resources and particular ways of speaking that, in effect, constitute the conditions of possibility within that discourse (Foucault, 1972).

When speaking about exercise behavior, what we find is that one often becomes immersed in psychological and physiological discourses. In turn, this makes certain terms more likely to be utilized in the construction of how one thinks, feels, and behaves (e.g., to exercise or not). Thus, when uttered in the context of exercise behavior, the phrase, "I am feeling tired" will gain its meaning based upon the criteria thought necessary to be in place in order for one to exercise in the first place. When immersed in physiological and psychological discourses, one might then conclude that a certain level of "energy" and "motivation" is needed to get to the facility, changed into proper clothing, and ultimately, exercising. Other acceptable criteria for *being tired* might include having worked hard all day, and having multiple demands on one's time, all of which can lead to the use of particular terms such as "feeling drained" or lacking "forces" (e.g., "energy", "motivation"). In turn, overt behaviors might also be associated with the foregoing terms, such as yawning, walking slowly, having a nap, or relaxing at home in front of the television. Perhaps even more importantly, one will conclude that one *is tired*, not because one can look inside themselves and find that they are missing "energy" and "motivation", but rather because these terms have associated behaviors and practices when uttered within these discursive contexts.

Regardless, what can be noted is that when uttered in the context of exercise behavior, the criteria for exercise (e.g., needing "energy" and "motivation") are in contrast to, and hence incompatible with, the criteria for feeling tired. Thus, when saying, "I am too tired to exercise", while in one sense one takes of stock of how they feel physically, in another sense, one also concludes that one *is tired* by virtue of the circumstances that surround one's consideration of exercising (e.g., been busy all day, not enough sleep, out drinking the night before). Moreover, depending upon the discourse within which one is immersed, one will also be more likely to utilize terms such as "energy" and "motivation" when discussing being tired in the context of exercise. This, coupled with what are considered to be overt signs of being/feeling tired, both visual and oral (e.g., bags under the eyes, dragging our feet, stories of partying the night before), will make *being tired* an acceptable reason for not exercising. In learning all of these characteristics for what constitutes being tired, as well as what it excludes (e.g., "energy", "motivation"), people learn to apply this word to themselves and others to utter phrases such as "I cannot exercise, I am too tired" or "he/she will not exercise, he/she is tired". In turn, it will be understood or accepted convention that someone who *is tired* may want to forgo exercising because they lack the "energy" and "motivation" to do so, and that may be the behavioral outcome that results.

In this example, it is important to note that this is not to suggest that people do not have physiological processes such as muscle fatigue or soreness that might accompany or even prompt feeling tired. Rather, the point is to suggest that people experience feeling tired and label it as such because they have learned the appropriate *social* and *behavioral* criteria for that word, as well as what that word implies they do not have (e.g., "energy" and "motivation"). Thus, *being tired* becomes an acceptable reason for not exercising because of the appropriate social and behavioral criteria for exercise. Additionally, because the meaning of words is linked to how they are used in social life, depending on the context (e.g., situation, social relationship), the speaker achieves different effects by uttering the phrase, “I am too tired to exercise today”. For example, one may avoid being prodded further about one’s lack of exercise, provide ample justification to one’s self for not exercising, or elicit empathy and understanding from one’s exercise partner. Ultimately, this phrase formulates actions for the speaker and the person being spoken to; i.e., depending upon the discursive context within which the words are uttered, particular conditions will make particular feelings and behaviors more likely. Thus, various behavioral outcomes result, not the least of which will be avoiding exercise. Regardless, all that need be noted is that these outcomes are not because of the term *tired* in and of itself (or as some might suggest, the physiological process of fatigue). Rather, the consequences come about because words have associated practices and meanings depending on the discursive context(s) within which they are uttered.

Although a relatively simple example, what this illustrates is that words and concepts are not merely about or reflective of actions, situations, and contexts. Instead, they formulate and construct actions, experiences, situations, and contexts by virtue of their connection to social and behavioral practices. Additionally, because language has this capacity, words and conversations become far more important to social psychology in the study of human behavior than what has typically been the case. Thus, if we want to learn more about how and why people behave in particular ways, in particular contexts, and come to have particular experiences under particular circumstances, then the ways in which people use their words, and the social and illocutionary effects those words and concepts have should be of interest.

Conceptualizing the Self

What this implies for how the self is conceptualized, or what the self is, is that we not view the person or the self as entities that reside somewhere within the mind, culture, or society. If the self is thought to mean or correspond to particular things, the meanings and things do not exist per se. Rather, the meaning of what a person is becomes created through our use of language, in specific contexts. This makes the concept of a person or the self, a socially constructed object, and our ways of speaking, acquired as they are by listening to how others speak, reflect our understandings of what a person is (Shotter, 1997). Thus, each time we refer to the self or self-related phenomena, we reveal the various ways we have agreed we can speak about the person or our selves in our discussions/conversations. Stated differently, when we are talking about "kinds of people" or "conceptions of self", what we are indeed talking about are kinds of conversations within particular discourses.

More to the point, the self can now be conceptualized as an extremely pervasive way of speaking that people utilize as an important sense-making device as they go about their daily lives. This means there are a number of different ways of speaking with and about our selves available for use within different discourses which construct how we think, feel, and behave by virtue of the social and behavioral practices tied to them. As a result, in any context where decision-making is required, people negotiate their behavior via language and conversations to decide what is appropriate for them to do, say, and feel, given who they are.

Exercise Behavior and the Self

These ideas are important for understanding exercise behavior because people often decide whether it is appropriate for them to exercise in relation to who they are. Moreover, because western culture is prone to using particular terms when talking about people, each of these ways of speaking affords and limits the kind of self we can be, and therefore our experiences. People thus employ a wide range of terms and concepts in their conversations with themselves and others to construct various selves or identities, and in so doing, negotiate whether or not they will exercise given the circumstances.

For example, people might have a conversation with themselves and/or others in which they say they cannot exercise because they are depressed, thereby situating themselves within a psychiatric or medical discourse. By viewing this as part of who they are, particular behavioral practices are more likely to result such as crying and particular facial expressions. As well, connected with the term depression are associated behaviors that might lead to lying around, sleeping, moving slowly, and ultimately remaining sedentary. At the same time, particular discursive practices are also more likely to be engaged in when one experiences being depressed such as saying one *is* sad, or saying one *is* helpless because depression is beyond their control, i.e., it is a psychological and biological condition they *have*. These ways of speaking make it possible for one to experience and express feelings of sadness and helplessness. And if these conversations with themselves and others take place on a regular basis, people may come to see themselves as depressed (i.e., depression becomes an important part of who they are), engaging in the behavioral and discursive practices that coincide with the use(s) of that term (Heap, 1982).

Similarly, people having difficulty adhering to exercise engage in a large repertoire of excuses or rationalizations when trying to talk themselves out of exercising, or in explaining to others why they cannot or did not exercise. Some of these excuses will prove to be acceptable, and if so one's behavior will be justified thereby avoiding being probed by others or questioning themselves as to why they failed to exercise. Conversely, some excuses will prove unacceptable, and therefore one's excuses or reasons for avoiding exercise at the expense of engaging in other behaviors (e.g., childcare or work practices) may prove unsuccessful and the individual may be asked to provide additional justification for why they did not exercise.

This notion briefly illustrates a concept known as *gambits of compliance*. Gambits of compliance make an important contribution in understanding how and why identity construction is linked to exercise and/or non-exercise behavior; i.e., depending upon the identity one constructs, one will be more likely to utilize particular excuses and rationalizations that are either in support of exercise or non-exercise.

To clarify, consider that when we speak to an Other our every utterance can be interpreted as a *gambit of compliance* (Garfinkel, 1967). The nature of dialogue is such that, at virtually any point, the person with whom we are speaking can refuse to accept what has been said thus far. They may refuse on the grounds that they have not understood what was said, or they may refuse because they cannot believe what was said.

Regardless, their refusal amounts to a demand that we either elaborate upon or substantiate whatever it was that we said. For example, in conversation when we tell someone what we think they should be doing (e.g., exercising instead of working or vice versa) the possibility exists for them to ask *why* they should do it. And if they do ask this question, we can say that our gambit of compliance has failed. In other words, what we said did not comply with what they felt it was reasonable for us to say. As a result, we must now respond to their query, possibly by answering them, or alternatively by questioning the appropriateness of their query.

Gambits of compliance can also fail if they breach the *conventions of warrant* (Gergen, 1989) that are deemed applicable to the interaction. These are the (almost always implicit) conventions that dictate what it is permissible to say given the context/circumstances. So when someone asks, "Why are you exercising instead of working?", it may be quite conventional to respond, "Because I want to," if the other party is your child or your exercise partner at work. However, if that other person happens to be your boss, this would probably amount to a rather *un*conventional response. And if the boss deems it unconventional, the result is likely to be further elaboration; if not, then the conversation is likely to continue where it left off. But in either case, one of the results will be a better understanding of that which this entity called "you" is capable of doing. Thus, the breaching of conventions is one of the many ways by which people come to know their individual characteristics (i.e., self and identity) and capabilities.

The significance of gambits of compliance and conventions of warrant for the discussion at hand is that they shed light on how it is that people come to engage in behaviors that are facilitative or non-facilitative of exercise. Simply stated, people tend to do or not do things, particularly new things such adopting an exercise program, as a result of conversations they have with themselves and others. Eventually, a point may be reached where a conversation no longer precedes the activity and, at this point, we can say that the behavior has become habitual. Nevertheless, it is important to remember that most, if not all, of our habitualized behaviors were at one time the product of such conversations. Moreover, it is also important to remember that within these conversations, each utterance constitutes a gambit of compliance and, as such, is subject to the applicable conventions of warrant. Thus, an important determinant of how these conversations unfold and, ultimately, of the behaviors that we internalize is the conventions of warrant considered applicable within these conversations.

At this point it is useful to return once again to the notion of the 'self' and 'identity' and the entities of which they are said to be comprised. For what we find in this regard is that our talk of the "mind" and its workings is subject to somewhat different conventions of warrant than is most other talk. When people employ various terms of the "inner region", the conventions of warrant are such that, with few exceptions, any claims made about our "internal states" are accepted at face value. In other words, our gambits of compliance seldom fail. So whereas our refusal to lift an object because it is "too heavy" can be subjected to further scrutiny, our refusal to do so because we are "lacking motivation" or "energy" does not provide this possibility. In this case, if we are to lift that object, it will be because the person with whom we are speaking has found a way to "motivate" or "energize" us, not because our gambit of compliance has failed.

Although a relatively simple example, what this reveals is how our agreed upon ways of speaking can influence our behavior. Most importantly, it suggests that it is not just *what* we say that influences our own and others' behavior but, also, *how* we say it. The content of what we have to say may be important, but it is also important that this content be delivered via a successful gambit of compliance. To illustrate, consider the remarks with which the first chapter of this dissertation was opened. In brief, what was noted there was that people continue to lead sedentary lifestyles despite ample evidence that a more active lifestyle would provide significant benefits. In the terminology presented above, it can be said that in general this has proven to be an unsuccessful gambit of compliance for exercise behavior.

So if we truly wish to effect a change in people's lifestyles, we require an understanding of why it is that this gambit of compliance has been so unsuccessful, and why particular gambits of compliance will be successful with respect to non-exercise behaviors. At this point, it is also useful to return to people's excuses for not exercising, such as lacking "energy", "motivation" or "time", or simply "not feeling like going". Regardless, what matters is that people use these excuses, with the effect of constructing a particular self and identity out of the various words and concepts available depending upon the discourse within which they are immersed. These excuses and the identities into which they converge will either be successful gambits of compliance for exercise or non-exercise behavior.

For example, if one constructs her identity as a "mother" within a patriarchal discourse of the family and the discourse of motherhood, then the gambits of compliance that are successful for non-exercise behavior might include "not having time", "lacking energy to exercise", or "feeling tired" because one was up late with a child the night before. What makes these excuses and rationalizations acceptable is the fact that these ways of speaking about the person and more specifically the 'self' (or in this case a 'mother') are typically agreed upon as acceptable explanations for lack of exercise behavior. Additionally, the behavioral practices associated with this particular self/identity (i.e., mother) also reinforce and reify these excuses as acceptable and legitimate reasons (i.e., gambits of compliance) to not exercise. After all, according to the patriarchal discourses of the family and the discourses of motherhood, if one is to be identified as a "good mother", then the conventions are such that one must engage in childcare practices first and foremost and worry about one's self second. To do otherwise and perhaps exercise instead would be selfish and make one a "bad mother". Thus, particular terms as opposed to others are taken at face value when people discuss with themselves and/or others why they cannot or did not exercise. As a result, a person who is a "mother" and lacks "motivation", "energy", "time", and "feels tired" may want to forgo exercising, no elaboration required.

However, this is not as straightforward as it might seem since, as alluded to earlier, people's capacity to think and act is not only limited to a large degree by the capacities of language, but also by the social network in which they are situated/embedded. Because language is inherently dialogical, while negotiating what is possible for us given who we are, we do so in consideration of what we think others will understand, comprehend and find sensible. The situation becomes further complicated because various others also have a self and identity they are trying to accomplish and construct for themselves, as well as a self and identity of us (Cooley, 1902; James, 1890; Mead, 1934). Thus, the social network within which we are situated will position us, within different discourses, as certain types of listeners and speakers, with particular discursive and behavioral repertoires at our disposal. In this way, we are afforded and limited by discursive resources from which to draw upon to construct our sense of self and identity. Therefore, the self or identity we construct and experience, as well as the range of behavioral practices that coincide with the terms employed, will to some degree be afforded and limited by those others with whom we interact.

This way of viewing the self begins to shed some light on why it might be difficult for those trying to adopt and adhere to an exercise program for the first time or to successfully reinstate and maintain one after being inactive for quite some time. If we recall that language is tied to behavioral practices, it follows that when acquiring a new behavior such as exercise, people also acquire new ways of speaking about themselves within new and different discourses. These ways of speaking may serve as successful gambits of compliance for exercise behavior or behaviors that encourage non-exercise.

The implication is that people are also attempting to expand their discursive resources and implicitly add gambits of compliance to their repertoire that will be successful for exercise. More to the point, they are trying to construct a new and different view of who they are (i.e., a new and different identity) utilizing new and different words, concepts, conversations, and discourses.

However, recall that those others with whom we interact on a regular basis are used to engaging us in conversations, from within particular discourses in which they have constructed a particular identity for us, as well as for themselves. Thus, despite our newly acquired utterances situating our selves within discourse in new ways, our utterances also serve to situate others within discourse in new ways. For example, in our attempts to construct ourselves as exercisers, we may also be reminding others within our social network that they are non-exercisers or sedentary. Additionally, in constructing this new and different view of ourselves, significant others may be deprived of our company as a lunch companion (e.g., if one exercises during lunch hour at work), a social drinking buddy on certain evenings, a reliable wife who has dinner ready at a particular time, or a mother who assumes primary responsibility for child care. For this reason, attempts to change our ways of speaking will likely encounter resistance from others because, in addition to repositioning our selves, they also serve to reposition those with whom we speak. In turn, if those others do not have the discursive resources at their disposal from which to construct the self or identity we are constructing, they will return to more familiar ways of speaking with and about us.

As a result, we become repositioned in old and more familiar discourses, with a limited repertoire of discursive resources from which to construct and experience who we are. At the same time, despite our best efforts to do otherwise, we will be confined to the social and behavioral practices those discourses imply. For this reason, an attempted change in one's level of exercise may be abandoned as one returns to more habitual ways of speaking and behaving in the construction of who one is.

What the foregoing reveals is that patterns of exercise behavior (and non-exercise behavior) are the products of people's sense of themselves and their relationships with others. Additionally, people's sense of themselves is not only brought into being via language and discourse, but is constructed via the conversations people have with themselves and others, within discourses. At the same time, these conversations will serve as either successful or unsuccessful gambits of compliance for exercise behavior. Thus, by drawing upon particular discourses, we can render who we are and we can understand this because the words and concepts we employ to construct our selves are learned via the social and behavioral criteria those concepts imply. As such, the self from a discursive perspective provides an important avenue into further understanding exercise adherence because of this differential research focus.

In light of this discursive conception of self and identity, what now becomes interesting when investigating exercise adherence is to ask what kinds of self-descriptions are available for use in people's everyday conversations with themselves? And, toward what end, based on the implied conduct and discursive practices, do people use these ways of speaking about the self to afford and limit their exercise behavior? Additionally, the range of excuses and rationalizations (i.e., gambits of compliance) available for use within discourse to construct one's identity and sense of self would also be of interest, for it is the use of those excuses and rationalizations on a habitual basis that will ultimately contribute to limiting people's exercise behavior. These must all be explored/considered in the context of people's dominant social network(s).

Discursive Approaches to Self and Identity

Despite the traditional ideas outlined earlier being prevalent for investigating exercise adherence, as previously discussed, this is but one view of self and identity upon which to base research. For example, it was just put forth that the self and identity can be conceptualized as accomplishments of kinds of conversations people have with various others (e.g., one's self, family, friends) within various discourses. Furthermore, a case was made for utilizing this discursive conception of the self and identity because the self is a pervasive way of speaking or sense-making device that people utilize within discourse, on a daily basis, to decide how they should think, feel, and behave. Thus, the self and identity we construct via language and discourse allows for the negotiation of exercise behavior given the circumstances. As a result, this conception provides an important avenue for understanding exercise behavior in light of its differential research focus; i.e., discourse, conversations and specific terms/concepts within them, and behavioral practices, as opposed to taken for granted mental terms, processes and phenomena.

However, if self and identity are to be conceptualized and utilized to investigate exercise behavior in this manner, what should be evident is that leading theories and approaches to the self and identity do not accommodate conceptions of self and identity as *linguistic phenomena* or conversations within discourses. Moreover, if such are to be further developed, perspectives grounded in a view of language that attends to the ways people use their words as opposed to solely what those words represent, need to be employed. In this regard, ethnomethodological (e.g., Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 1984), post-structuralist (e.g., Dews, 1987; Hollway, 1989; Weedon, 1987) and narrative psychological (e.g., Bruner, 1987, 1990; Murray, 1995) traditions have much to contribute.

While each of these traditions will be discussed in turn, for now it can simply be noted that studies conducted within these traditions share a common focus on how words and language are *used* and the effects that result. That is, there is an interest in people's everyday understandings as displayed in conversations, and what is accomplished in and through ordinary talk (Harre, 1997). In this way, self and identity are viewed as a participant's resource available for use in discourse, rather than a researcher's resource. Additionally, the words people use to construct various identities are regarded as where the action is because those words are embedded within discourses, and those words and discourses are tied to social, institutional, and behavioral practices.

Finally, these approaches abandon the notion that when we ask people to tell us who they are, they are informants about what identity or self-conception they have or what those identities and self-conceptions make them think, feel, and do. Thus, research within these traditions does not seek to interpret what people say as corresponding to hidden mental properties or forces that cause, or relate to, what people say (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998).

Ethnomethodology

Ethnomethodology begins with the assumption that a large portion of people's daily lives is spent engaged in *descriptive accountings* of states of affairs to one another (Heritage, 1984, p. 136). This means that talk is viewed as an important feature of practical tasks or getting things done, and more importantly, the social world and "indeed, what counts as social reality itself, is managed, *maintained and acted upon through the medium of ordinary description*" (Heritage, 1984, p. 137, emphasis added). This suggests that language and, more specifically, descriptive accounts, provide individuals with the tools to make sense and meaning of events that have taken place in their lives. Stated differently, people engage in conversations with themselves and others in order to account for their present, past, and future behavior.

These ideas are based upon Garfinkel's (1967) work, which suggests that social life is displayed in people's everyday understandings of what is happening in a given context, and that people come to these understandings via conversational accounts. Thus, central to all ethnomethodological work is the idea that everyday interaction is a central component of the setting of which it is a part. This everyday interaction includes the accounts we make to ourselves, as well as to various others. In this way, ethnomethodology focuses on members' methods of reality construction via talk, with the central tenet being that what is going on in social interaction cannot be distinguished from how it is accomplished (Garfinkel, 1967). Thus, in giving accounts for their behavior, what people say or describe is treated as an event within and constitutive of the setting, as opposed to viewing those descriptions as more or less accurate reports or explanations of events. In turn, this suggests that language and talk form the social structure of which we are a part; i.e., structure is not some separate and distinct "thing" that happens to us. More to the point, these conversational accounts constitute and formulate our actions and behavior within any given context.

An example to illustrate the foregoing comes from Wieder's (1974) classical study examining life at a halfway hostel for felons. This study took two approaches to language use: a traditional social psychological approach and an ethnomethodological approach. Based on an intensive period of participant-observation, the former approach identified a set of informal rules, known as "The Code", used by the inmates. For example, one rule was "do not snitch". Anyone deviating being regarded as a "kiss-ass" if they were too friendly with staff, or a "sniveller" if they complained to the staff. In turn, these categories could be backed up by research examples of verbal and physical abuse engaged in by the inmates when they were violated. In this way, these rules could also be regarded as having a motivational force, serving as a template and a description of the inmates' actions; i.e., the Code in and of itself provided an explanation for behavior.

In contrast, the ethnomethodological approach viewed the Code itself as a topic of study. Thus, how the Code was used in practice within the hostel and the effects this had were of interest; i.e., there was a shift from using the talk as an explanatory resource for the researcher to looking at it as a topic in its own right. For example, sometimes inmates stopped Wieder's conversations with them to say, "you know I won't snitch". The social and behavioral consequences of this utterance were examined, rather than simply examining the utterance as indicative of part of the Code. As a result of viewing the talk in this way, it was learned that this particular utterance constrained behavior in the social environment in particular ways, leading to practical consequences. For example, in saying "I won't snitch", the researcher was called to stop that particular line of questioning and, as a result, remained ignorant of the answer. Additionally, the utterance positioned the researcher as an outsider because "snitching" only takes place between inmates and outsiders; it does not take place between friends. Thus, in being positioned in this way within the conversation, Wieder could only utter certain words and phrases; i.e., it established the interaction in a particular way as opposed to another (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). A final effect of the utterance was that it suggested a possible confrontation between inmate and researcher; thus, the researcher ceased to probe the inmate in that particular manner whenever that phrase was uttered. It is this focus upon what is being accomplished in and through people's accounts, as opposed to the content of those accounts, which makes a contribution to a discursive conception of self and identity. This suggests a need to address the self as an accomplishment in language and conversations, rather than simply regarding language and conversations as expressions or indications of the self and identity. As well, in order to address the self in this manner, the conversational accounts people make to themselves and others in the construction of who they are need to be the focus of study.

Additionally, these ideas applied to self and identity mean that who we are is inseparable from language, talk, and the conversations we have with others and our selves. Stated differently, self and identity are not some "things" or entities that happen to us or somehow enable us to act accordingly. Rather, they are worked up and constructed via the accounts we give to ourselves and others. Thus, self and identity are interactional accomplishments that are negotiated and achieved in the course of ordinary conversations and events (Garfinkel, 1967; Mehan & Wood, 1975; Schenkein, 1978). More importantly, those ordinary conversations and events construct and formulate particular actions and behavioral consequences depending upon the context within which they take place. Furthermore, within this tradition, identity work is regarded as central and essential to all social interactions because people orient what they say and how they say it to the specific identities of conversational participants. This means that any social interaction, (i.e., conversational account) may be examined or studied for its processes of self and identity production (Paoletti, 1998b). This could include the interaction one has with actual others on a daily basis, or the interaction one has with one's self or imagined others.

Most empirical research on the self and identity informing these ideas is found in work utilizing conversation analysis (see Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974, or Sacks &

Schegloff, 1979). Studies employing conversation analytic techniques explore the technical aspects of talk in order to examine micro-instances of talk and conversations. This is to ascertain what people are accomplishing in and through instances of ordinary talk, as well as the broader implications embedded within a particular utterance within a particular conversation. Numerous examples can be found in edited volumes containing collections of works by various researchers exploring how people use identity categories or assign descriptions to themselves and others, with particular social and behavioral effects that result (see Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998; Psathas, 1979; Schenkein, 1978).

While there are many other examples employing conversation analysis for the study of identity (e.g., Antaki, Condor, & Levine, 1996; Hamilton, 1996; He, 1995), for the purpose of investigating exercise adherence, research examining the social construction of identity in the elderly (Coupland & Coupland, 1994; Coupland, Coupland, & Giles, 1991; Coupland, Coupland, & Grainger, 1991; Paeoletti, 1998a, 1998b) is particularly informative. This is because this research exemplifies some of the theoretical and practical uses of ethnomethodology. Given that the research discussed herein seeks a better understanding of exercise behavior, with the ultimate goal of providing ways to modify sedentary behavior, this point is particularly important.

Research employing an ethnomethodological approach to study identity amongst the elderly explores members' use of taken-for-granted categories in talk such as 'old', 'age', and 'gender'(i.e., 'woman'). In turn these categorical variables are shown to be socially constructed and reified in discourses engaged in by the elderly, younger people, and institutions (e.g., senior citizen centers, hospitals). Additionally, this research also shows how the *use* of different identity categories within different discourses not only make particular social and behavioral practices toward the elderly more likely, but those discourses and material institutions can keep those practices in place. As a result, how the elderly experience themselves, and ultimately how they behave, will be affected.

For example, Coupland et al. (1991) examined two conversations of an older woman, interacting in one instance with another older woman, and in another instance with a younger woman. The focus was on how identities were articulated in the conversations, including how definitions of elderliness were created and jointly constructed in and through the discourse. The study found that when interacting with someone closer to her own age, the elderly woman presented her identity positively, giving more positive accounts of her life. However, when interacting with the younger woman, her identity was co-constructed as being more fragile. This study demonstrates that not only do people assign themselves and others identities within discourse, but in some instances this can be problematic, resulting in a negative construction of an elderly person's identity (e.g., the woman's identity was co-constructed as lonely and depressed). The implications of this are that when particular discourses (e.g., loneliness and depression) are predominant in intergenerational interactions, the associated discursive and behavioral practices may predispose elderly persons to experiencing a decrease in quality of life, possibly withdrawing from society and community practices.

This research has practical value because, by viewing identity and the self as accomplishments within conversations and discourse, people working in the gerontological sphere are provided with an analysis of how social actors make sense of their own circumstances through communicative and discursive practices. This is important because, within this sphere, talk and conversational interaction are an important part of care provision (e.g., talk can immediately constitute either dependency or autonomy with respect to health and age identities of the elderly) (Coupland et al., 1991). In turn, both institutional and everyday settings can hold possibilities for modifying cross-generation exchanges through training regimens that involve talk and conversation modification for those who work with the elderly (Coupland et al., 1991; Paoletti, 1998b).

This in turn implies that if behavior within the gerontological sphere can be better understood and modified via conceptualizing identity in this manner, then so too can exercise behavior. The ethnomethodological perspective not only contributes toward a theory of self and identity for the purpose of investigating and understanding exercise behavior, but such a perspective can aide in the development of interventions aimed at changing people's behavior from sedentary to active. For example, in light of the findings in research with the elderly, people modifying their sedentary behavior could be made aware of how their interpersonal relations (i.e., their conversations with themselves and others), contribute toward keeping them sedentary or active. Significant others could also be made aware of this. The final step would be to help all parties expand their discursive resources in order to modify how they co-construct their identity in their conversational exchanges with each other. With this expansion of discursive resources, or re-telling of who we are, the outcome for the sedentary individual would be the ability to choose alternative courses of action, which in this case would be becoming more physically active as opposed to engaging in sedentary behaviors.

Post-Structuralism

In order to clarify the contributions post-structuralism makes toward a theory of self and identity some background on structuralism is first useful. Generally, post-structuralism is concerned with the relation between language, subjectivity, and social organization and is "post" in the sense that it came after structuralism and extends it (Sturrock, 1986). The term "structuralism" refers to a broader, more abstract family of theories and approaches in the study of human nature (Sturrock, 1986). Generally, structuralism postulates that things or events in the world arise from underlying, unobservable structures (e.g., culture, gender relations, language, economic and social climates). While these structures are always present, influencing people's lives, people are likely unaware of this. As a result, existing structures can only become known through inference, with observable phenomena being best understood by examining the underlying structures which produce them (Slife & Williams, 1996).

Structuralism originates with Saussure, who theorized that language had a pre-given, fixed structure. Further, he suggested that meaning is produced within language rather than reflected by language (Weedon, 1987). Language is an abstract system of chains and signs, with each sign being made up of a signifier (i.e., sound or written image) and a signified (i.e., meaning). The signifier and signified are only related arbitrarily; thus, there is no connection between the sound or written image and the concept it identifies. What this means is that the meaning of signs is not derived from their inherent, intrinsic meanings, but rather from their differences from all the other signs in the language system. For example, there is no intrinsic meaning to the signifier "good". Instead, what gives it its meaning is its opposition to other signifiers such as "bad" and "evil". Thus, the meaning of a signifier is only knowable in relation to the whole of which it is a part.

With respect to self and identity, this suggests that the meaning of our self is determined in relation to others; we cannot know who we are unless there are various others to reflect back an identity they have of us (Cooley, 1902; James, 1890; Mead, 1934). This also suggests that the self can never be entirely present during a particular social interaction. In turn, this means that the self cannot be conceptualized as a single coherent entity because who we are is always in process due to changing social interactions with the multiple others with whom we converse. In this sense, the self is contingent upon discourses and context. More will be said about this shortly. For now, it can simply be noted that post-structuralism extends these ideas by critiquing Saussure's idea of language's pre-given, fixed structure. To illustrate, recall that Saussure theorized that a signifier's meaning is determined through its relation to all other signifiers. For Saussure, language had a pre-given, fixed structure, with a signifier being what it is by virtue of what it is not. French philosopher, Jacques Derrida, in turn extended this, using the concept of *differance* to draw attention to the fact that the meaning of a signifier is never knowable because we are always changing the meaning of signifiers by virtue of changing discursive contexts. This plurality and change of meaning means that "different languages and different discourses within the same language divide up the world and give it meaning in different ways which cannot be reduced to one another through translation or by an appeal to universally shared concepts reflecting a fixed reality" (Weedon, 1987, p. 22). For example, the meanings of "wife" and "husband" can be variable across cultures, within different languages, and can change as a function of historical and discursive contexts.

Thus, the key difference between Saussure's and Derrida's ideas is that Derrida viewed signs as never being fixed or complete in themselves because they are constantly open to reinterpretation. As a result, the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, as well as the ways in which they understand the world, are always in process because they are reconstituted in discourse each time we think, speak, and negotiate. For example, within social interaction, negotiations of one's identity or personal self-meanings take place and, as mentioned, it is through language that this is accomplished. Additionally, the meanings of identity not only emerge in social interaction, but can change as context-specific negotiations between people take place (Denzin, 1989). This is because language and discourses can vary from person to person and context to context. The central point is not only that the self can only be known by having others reflect it back to us, but that the self is negotiated during social processes;

i.e., in conversations that take place within discourse. Because the discourses within which one participates shift and change, the self is ever-emergent, dynamic and, therefore, multi-faceted. Thus, depending on the view of the self that is constructed via the conversations with ourselves and others (e.g., the identity a significant other has of someone as lunch companion) in a particular context (e.g., at work), people will choose how they see a particular facet of the self (e.g., as a valued friend who does not give up lunch to exercise).

In order to further clarify the contribution these ideas make toward a theory of self and identity for investigating exercise adherence, it is now useful to revisit some points put forth earlier with respect to a discursive conception of the self and understanding exercise behavior. In brief, it was noted that people's capacity to think and act is limited not only by the capacities of language, but also the social network in which they are situated. This is because when negotiating what is possible for us given who we are, we do so in consideration of what we think others will permit us to do. Additionally, those various others with whom we interact also have a self and identity they are trying to accomplish and construct for themselves, as well as a self and identity of us. Thus, the social network within which we are situated positions us within different discourses as certain types of listeners with certain discursive and behavioral repertoires at our disposal. This means that the self or identity we construct and experience, as well as the range of behavioral practices that coincide with the terms employed, are not characterized by infinite possibility. Instead, they are in part limited by the discourse within which we participate in the construction of we are. Within these discourses are particular positions from which one participates, positions that are referred to as 'sites of subjectivity' (Weedon, 1987).

The site of subjectivity one occupies in a discourse carries with it particular conventions as to how one should think, feel, and behave. In the patriarchal discourse of the 'family', for example, an initiate exerciser occupying the position of 'wife' will be enabled to make particular kinds of claims that those occupying that same position within a 'liberal feminist' discourse are not entitled to make. As well, in occupying this position, the 'wife' is also likely to attend to others' utterances in particular ways, to think in particular ways, and to have particular experiences when it comes to exercise that follow from this position of 'wife'. Conversely, those who occupy other positions within this discourse, such as 'husband', will also find that their site of subjectivity influences their participation and experiences in the discourse. Thus, claims such as "I cannot exercise today because I have to be home for my children" made by the 'wife' in a patriarchal familial discourse will be an acceptable reason or gambit of compliance to avoid exercise because to say otherwise would breach the conventions of how one should behave and feel. Stated differently, when one's site of subjectivity is a 'wife' within a patriarchal familial discourse, an excuse such as taking care of children will be deemed an acceptable reason for not exercising because the behavioral and discursive practices are such that putting one's self before one's children would be selfish. Additionally, if one positioned in this same way engages in exercise at the expense of taking care of children and the family, she will likely experience guilt and selfishness, being less likely to exercise on future occasions because of wanting to avoid such feelings.

Those same claims made by one who is positioned as a ‘wife’ within a liberal feminist discourse would be challenged or simply not uttered when it comes to exercise. This would be because this discourse *positions* one differently as a ‘wife’, affording different possibilities for thinking, feeling, and behaving. Thus, if one’s site of subjectivity is a ‘wife’, within this liberal feminist discourse the construction of one’s identity will be different, with phrases being uttered such as “when I exercise my husband will take care of the children; exercise is something I do for myself”. In having this conversation from this subject position, within this discourse, one does not experience guilt or selfishness when exercising at the expense of taking care of children because the discourse furnishes different conditions of possibility for speaking, feeling, and behaving. In fact, one might experience feelings of empowerment and a sense of accomplishment when positioned in this discourse.

Therefore, if we want to study and further understand the discursive accomplishment of self and identity, then we must account for this positioning within discourse(s), for this is crucial for understanding how self and identity are linguistically constructed one particular way as opposed to another. It is in this manner that post-structuralism makes an important contribution toward a theory of self and identity because it accounts for how self and identity are accomplished within larger discourses and the subject positions taken up with those discourses.

As the term is used here, 'discourse' is meant to denote a set of statements that construct an object (Foucault, 1972; Parker, 1992). There is the discourse of 'exercise', the discourse of 'science', the discourse of 'family', each of which constructs various objects of which it speaks. Thus, post-structuralism suggests that the discourses from within which we speak are both enabling and limiting. They are enabling in that they permit us to speak of particular objects in particular ways (e.g., our selves), but they are limiting in that they also proscribe other objects and ways of speaking. And because of the relationship between our ways of speaking and what we think, do, and feel, discourses are also simultaneously limiting and enabling with respect to our behavior and experience. The implication, thus, is that if we wish to change people's view of who they are and their exercise behavior, they may wish to occupy different sites of subjectivity, possibly within different discourses.

Additionally, post-structuralism also reminds us that self and identity are relational, and as such, who we are is connected to, and constructed by, the identities significant others have of us. For this reason, people cannot easily change the sites of subjectivity they come to occupy within discourse in the construction of their identity without those significant others also changing their view of who they are. Thus, if behavioral change is to be maintained for the sedentary individual attempting to become active and, hence, construct a new identity via conversations with themselves and others, significant others must also change the identity they have of that person, speaking accordingly with and about that person.

Finally, poststructuralism makes a further contribution toward understanding self and identity construction via its assertion that in addition to the conversational accounts made within discourses, the ranges of discourses or discursive resources available to people are limited because they also have material supports in institutions. Additionally, these supports are firmly grounded and reified in a history of practices. Thus, there are conditions (i.e., non-discursive bodies) beyond the local conversations and broader discourses that form the contexts within which social life and discursive resources unfold, making particular experiences and behaviors of ethnomethodology's agents more or less likely.

These notions are better understood if we draw upon Bourdieu's (1981) notion that every behavior/action brings together two 'states of history': *objectified history* and *embodied history*. Objectified history refers to the history accumulated over time in things, machines, buildings, monuments, books, theories, customs, and laws. Because of this history, people take for granted the existence of the aforementioned, being unaware of the influence these things have on their daily thoughts, feelings, and behaviors. Stated differently, while we might be aware of various things (e.g., we are likely aware of particular laws, books, or buildings), we tend to regard them as naturally given properties and facts and as such, are unaware of how and that they construct our thoughts and behavior in socially specific ways.

Embodied history is a re-enactment of history that becomes apparent via our actions and interactions (Bourdieu, 1981). For example, a man that raises his hat as a greeting unwittingly reactivates an inherited sign from the middle ages whereby armed men used to remove their helmets to signify peaceful intentions. In performing this action, the interaction one has with one's self or others will also be constructed in particular ways. Similar to objectified history, it is likely that when people perform particular actions and interactions they are unaware that various historical conventions are being reactivated.

Thus, so much of what people do is taken for granted in light of objectified and embodied states of history, or what can be referred to as the non-discursive aspects of 'discursive fields' (Weedon, 1987). As the term is used here, a 'discursive field' refers to competing ways of giving meaning to the world and of organizing social institutions and processes (Weedon, 1987). Lest it be unclear, this means that history has been deposited in the material and institutional surroundings within which we live and participate, as well as being deposited within us. And perhaps more importantly, these ideas allow us to account for where the resources with which decision-making is carried out originate. This also makes clear that while people have agency and choice in the construction of who they are (and implicitly their behavior), their choices are not infinite. Instead, they are limited in part by their conversational accounts, the discourses within which those accounts take place, and the historical and material conditions holding those discourses in place.

While by no means limited to a particular perspective, a great deal of research informing these ideas comes from feminist perspectives exploring the production and reproduction of gender differences in adult relations (see Bem, 1993; Butler, 1990; Cerulo, 1997; Flax, 1990; or Hollway, 1989). Other topics informing these ideas include sexual identity (Irving, 1994; Taylor & Whittier, 1992) and race and ethnic studies (Alba, 1990; Waters, 1990; Vila, 1997). While different intellectual traditions are reflected by these studies, all are concerned with questioning the meaning of biological distinctions to expose "the social rituals, symbols, and practices that transform such differences into social facts" (Cerulo, 1997, p. 368). By studying taken-for-granted categories, the effects of those categories are explored in order to argue that socially defined categories (e.g., 'maleness', 'femaleness') constrict and oppress behavior via the subjective definitions that imply particular *actions* and expectations (Cerulo, 1997).

For the purpose of theorizing about the self, identity, and exercise behavior, the perspective of Davies and Harre (1990) is particularly helpful. Utilizing the post-structuralist ideas outlined above, the notion of positioning within discourse was advocated and developed as an important contributor to understanding personhood and the self. Employing examples from literature and real life conversations, it was shown that subject positions construct who we are because a particular position predisposes us to "see" the world from a particular vantage point; i.e., certain ways of speaking (e.g., concepts, story lines, images) are more relevant than others within a discursive practice. In turn, it was suggested that focusing on subject positions within discourse was advantageous because it "recognizes both the constitutive force of discourse, and in particular of discursive practices and at the same time recognizes that people are capable of exercising choice in relation to those practices" (Davies & Harre, 1990, p. 46).

Additionally, while largely ignored by those working on the exercise adherence problem, it is important to mention that a recent article has outlined some of the theoretical underpinnings discussed herein under the label of 'discursive psychology' for the study of adherence to exercise and physical activity (McGannon & Mauws, 2000). In brief, the discursive psychological approach was introduced and discussed within this article in the spirit of complementarity and as a tool to add to the exercise adherence research "tool box", rather than to replace or discredit theories and research subscribing to leading approaches. Ultimately, it was also noted that it was discursive psychology's incompatibility with leading approaches that will allow us to effect behavioral change (i.e., changing sedentary behavior to active behavior) in ways never before entertained by leading approaches within more mainstream Health and Exercise Psychology research.

Thus, in theorizing about self and identity, post-structuralism advocates a need to focus on the subject positions and discourses within which those occur to understand how different selves and identities are produced on different occasions with different effects. Moreover, if we want to eventually change behavior (e.g., from sedentary to active), then we need to be able change how people "see" themselves. This is constructed, limited, and afforded via subject positions and the discourses within which they are immersed, and the significant others with whom they converse on a regular basis. Ultimately, we also need to be aware of the history of practices and the institutional and material bodies (re)produce these historical practices, discourses, and ways of speaking within them (and implicitly identities) if we are to change people's identity construction and the behaviors that encourage and discourage exercise behavior.

Narrative Psychology

The study of narrative is varied and interdisciplinary, fitting within many scholarly fields (Riessman, 1993). Additionally, the term narrative conjures up many definitions, with little agreement among scholars as to an exact definition. For example, in the literary tradition, narrative can be regarded as stories about past events, having common properties such as an abstract (narrative summary), orientation (time, place), complicating action (sequence of events), evaluation (meaning of action/attitude of narrator), resolution (outcome of what happened), and coda (returns to present) (Labov, 1972; Riessman, 1993). Others assert that narratives must, at the very least, have a beginning, middle, and an end (Polyani, 1985). Additionally, narratives gleaned in interviews are sometimes regarded as genres, such as comedy, tragedy, romance, and satire (Frye, 1957) in which people can be viewed as protagonists or heroes (Riessman, 1991) playing out their lived experiences.

While this list is not intended to be exhaustive, most researchers, regardless of the definition employed, typically regard narratives as "discrete units, with clear beginnings and endings, as detachable from the surrounding discourse rather than as situated events" (Riessman, 1993, p. 17). However, it would be misleading to suggest that all disciplines have only regarded narrative this way. That said, one discipline that has been giving attention to narratives as situated occasions within discourses is narrative psychology (e.g., Bruner, 1990; Edwards, 1995; Murray, 1995; Shotter & Gergen, 1989).

Narrative psychology is an extension of narratology or the study of stories. Narratology attempts to define general categories and types of narrative based on literary genres such as fairy tales (e.g., Propp, 1968) and the literary genres of comedy, tragedy, romance, and satire, already mentioned (Frye, 1957). Within narratology, these genres are viewed as being so pervasive within western culture that people use and recognize them on a daily basis in their everyday and common sense storytelling, be it to themselves or to others (Murray, 1995).

Narrative psychology as utilized for the study of the discursive production of self, identity, and exercise adherence departs slightly from this idea, taking the view that narrative is not merely a reflection/collection of literary genres, but rather is *the* basic mode of human understanding (Edwards, 1997; Sarbin, 1986). Stated differently, "in telling stories, interlocutors make sense out of their experiences. They use words, grammar, and narrative structure to weave a tale in which events are linked temporally, causally, and emotionally and protagonists are depicted with a particular evaluative hue" (Capps & Ochs, 1995, p.13). This suggests that the stories we tell about ourselves *construct* the way we view and experience ourselves in the world. More to the point, we actually *become* our own autobiographies accomplishing not only who we are via the stories we tell about ourselves (Bruner, 1987), but implicitly, how we behave.

It is in this way that narrative psychology contributes toward a theory of self and identity via its notion that stories, which are regarded as discursive resources, are meaning making or sense making devices; i.e., the narratives or stories people tell construct who they are and whether or not they will exercise given the circumstances. This means that narrative is *the* means by which people make sense of their positioning within discourses with respect to who they are and the choices they make in social space. This also makes narrative or story telling practices important vehicles for understanding and effecting behavioral change (Gephart, 1991). In turn, narrative provides researchers interested in the self, identity, and exercise adherence, a specific means of not only exploring *how* self and identity are accomplished, but the possibility for changing behavior from sedentary to active via people's story telling practices.

While it would be unfair to give any particular scholar credit for developing this notion, Bruner's ideas (1986; 1987; 1990) have been influential in the psychological inquiry of self and identity. For example, in an effort to bring back culture and meaning to cognitive psychology in the wake of the first cognitive revolution's emphasis on the computer as the root metaphor for human behavior (see Edwards, 1997), Bruner (1986, 1987, 1990) emphasized *narrative* as a mode of thought and action. Moreover, he suggested that our selves emerge at the junction of the social and cultural world, claiming that narrative is a natural vehicle for psychology because it deals with "the stuff of human action and human intentionality...(mediating) between the canonical world of culture and more idiosyncratic world of beliefs, desires and hopes" (Bruner, 1990, p.52). This means that storytelling affords us a way in which we can not only represent our selves against frameworks of cultural expectations about courses of action, but that our identities are emergent via the construction and positioning of ourselves in relation to those social and cultural expectations (Schiffrin, 1996).

Narrative therefore contributes toward a discursive conception of the self and identity because it explicitly advocates the understanding of self-narratives as "forms of social accountings or public discourse" (Gergen, 1994, p. 188). Thus, what is being suggested is that the discursive display of self and identity via narrative and storytelling is merely one instance of a more general process whereby the self exists as a construction through *all* discourse (Edwards & Potter, 1992; Harre, 1998; Shotter & Gergen, 1989). This means that "we are continually locating and relocating ourselves, defining and redefining ourselves and our worlds: telling a story about a personal experience is merely another example of a process that pervades our ways of speaking, acting, and being in the world", (Schiffrin, 1996, p. 200). This makes narrative a useful and informative vehicle for exploring the accomplishment of one's self and identity because it suggests that if we elicit and examine narratives, then we are afforded the possibility of examining the discursive production of self and identity (Schiffrin, 1996). Moreover as mentioned, using narrative in this way will afford us (i.e., exercise adherence researchers) with an enhanced understanding of the adherence problem, eventually affecting a positive change toward making people more active.

A recent article by Ochs and Capps (1996) informs these ideas in which it was suggested that narrative and self are inseparable and "simultaneously born out of experience and gives shape to experience" (Ochs & Capps, 1996, p. 19). Research on a variety of topics (e.g., mental disorders, family relationships) was cited in order to exemplify that narrative is a crucial resource for the teller because it socializes emotions, attitudes, and identities, and develops interpersonal relationships. Moreover, narrative allows for self and society to interface, bringing multiple and partial aspects of the self into being, as people utilize narrative to connect and make meaning of events that take place in the past, present, or possible future.

A pertinent empirical work further exemplifying this notion is a case study of a woman who suffered from panic attacks and had been labeled ‘agoraphobic’ due to her fear of being in any space where she might feel alone and therefore vulnerable to fear and panic (Capps & Ochs, 1995). In a marriage of clinical psychology and linguistics, this “disorder” was studied, not to reify it as some property of the individual, but rather to show it as something that had been reified via the woman’s narratives, which were embedded within a cultural system of beliefs and discourse practices. Moreover, by examining the narratives in this way, it was shown how a linguistic construction via a grammar of panic was used habitually in the woman’s stories. The outcome was the recasting of past, future, and imagined events and settings, as potential sources of fear and panic, thus reifying her mental illness; i.e., behavioral and experiential history repeats itself because narrative practices repeat themselves. Additionally, various others (e.g., husband, and children) were also shown to unwittingly construct and maintain a grammar of panic via the repeated use of particular discourses and narrative practices.

Overall, it was concluded that examining narratives and analyzing them in terms of the discourses within which they occurred provided a rich resource for those working with psychological disorders because it elucidated self-understandings of the sufferer; i.e., it allowed for the examination of how narratives are resources for the patient. As a result, the final hope was to inspire changes in one's construction of self through narrative practices.

With respect to exercise adherence, this study is important because valuable insights into identity via examining the narratives people construct are gained. For example, in examining narratives with respect to discourses and discourse practices it was not only learned how one is predisposed to particular ways of thinking, feeling and behaving, but that others are also very powerful contributors to this via the conversations they engage us in on a habitual basis. This point was made in earlier discussions of how viewing the self in this way can enhance understandings of exercise adherence.

Thus, by viewing narrative as the root metaphor in people's construction of self and identity, our understanding of exercise behavior could be enhanced, possibly even providing a means of modifying exercise behavior. In other words, like ethnomethodology, narrative shows us the potential clinical and applied value of approaching people and research in this way. And if we revisit ethnomethodology's notion of conversational accounts as central in the construction of identity and what is accomplished behaviorally, we can also see that narratives are important sense making resources (Gephart, 1991) people use to account for who they are and how they should behave given the circumstances. In turn, this would suggest that if we can change the overarching narratives and discursive resources people utilize to construct and account for who they are and how they should behave, we may also give people the practical and concrete tools (i.e., discursive) with which to acquire new behavior, and change old behavior. This is an important point of note because focusing on narratives and discourse in the foregoing way(s) has often been criticized as being of abstract interest but of no practical use because it is "just looking at words and not real things" (Potter & Wetherell, 1987, p. 174).

While again largely ignored by those working on the exercise adherence problem, it is also important to note that some scholars within the "sociological realm" of sport and physical activity research are beginning to embrace and promote the narrative approach as a means of advancing understanding within that area. In this regard, of note are some of Sparkes' (1997, 1999) recent articles on narrative approaches to the body. Specifically, Sparkes has advocated the use of narrative and storytelling as a means of learning more about people's 'body identities', or what researchers within mainstream Health and Exercise Psychology research have termed 'the physical self'. Drawing upon the work of social theorists such as Giddens (1991) and Shilling (1993), Sparkes has asserted that in order to gain insight beyond that which traditional psychological approaches to the self provide, researchers must employ the 'interpretive turn' to focus upon self-development via the use of narratives and storytelling.

Additionally, of note is also a recent issue of the *Sociology of Sport Journal* (2000) which was entirely devoted to the use of narrative. This special collection of articles was intended to create a space and venue for sport sociologists who had turned to "more evocative ways of writing than standard practices" (Denison & Rinehart, 2000, p. 1). Together, all of these scholarly works exemplify that, while not yet well known and widely used within Health and Exercise Psychology, the interpretive turn as it pertains to the 'narrative approach' is beginning to gain a foothold within the sport, exercise, and physical activity literature. This is promising and exciting for those interested in applying these notions and alternative ways of understanding to the study of exercise adherence.

Summary

To summarize, ethnomethodology contributes toward a theory of self and identity for the purpose of investigating exercise adherence because it necessitates that self and identity be conceptualized and studied as conversational accounts or accomplishments in language and conversations. As well, it draws attention to the fact that self and identity are important topics on which to focus research efforts because the concepts are central to making sense of all interactions, including the interaction one has with one's self.

Post-structuralism further enhances this understanding because it urges us to focus upon the larger discourses within which self and identity are constructed and the subject positions taken up within those discourses that afford and limit those ways of speaking with and about our selves. Additionally, post-structuralism considers that discourses are anchored in a set of material conditions and practices beyond the local and specific context. As a result, post-structuralism further contributes toward a theory of self and identity because it gives historical and social practices and institutional/material conditions primacy in the constitution of our everyday lives and who we are. This makes our identity produced and reproduced an integral part of what words do and the effects they have (Henriques et al., 1984). Post-structuralism also reminds us that the self and identity are relational. Thus, in order to help people expand their discursive resources to include discourses associated with health promoting behaviors, an awareness of how others contribute to the construction and maintenance of identity is essential. Stated differently, people cannot change their behavior from sedentary to active and maintain that change without others changing their view of who that person is via the conversations they engage them in on a habitual basis, and the discourses within which those local conversations occur. Moreover, in light of the fact that there are institutional and material conditions beyond discourse(s), the likes of which maintain and reify particular views of the self and identity, it will be particularly difficult to make discursive and behavioral change possible and to sustain that change.

Finally, narrative psychology contributes toward a theory of self and identity because the narrative tradition outlined assumes that narrative is *the* basic mode of thought, action, and the means by which who we are is rendered visible, providing a specific means to examine how our selves and identities are accomplished, hence providing a vehicle for understanding and modifying exercise behavior. Thus, narratives can be elicited in which we ask, to what end do the stories we tell about who we are construct how we think, feel, and behave with respect to exercise? And in turn, what are the discourses and subject positions that afford and limit those narratives in the construction of people's identities? Viewed in this way, this would suggest that eliciting narratives/stories from people about their exercise experiences provides a means of exploring the discursive production of self and identity, and the behavioral outcomes connected (e.g., sedentary behavior, sporadic exercise, or regular exercise).

Thus, ethnomethodology, post-structuralism, and narrative psychology can be combined in pursuit of a theory of self and identity to explore and understand exercise and non-exercise behavior. In so doing, it is suggested that who we are, and thus implicitly our exercise or non-exercise behavior, is a collection of conversations, and more specifically narratives/stories, which are spoken from subject positions, within larger discourse(s). The narratives per se are not of interest (e.g., plot line, literary genre), or what role one is playing in some pre-determined category of a narrative, nor what "psychic representations" might be revealed by the narrative. Instead, the discourses within which one tells a narrative/story and how they are positioned, and thus occasioned to speak that story in particular ways, utilizing particular terms and images of the self and identity in the construction of that story, are the units of interest and analysis.

CHAPTER III

Methodology

> How individuals recount their histories — what they emphasize and omit, their stances as protagonists or victims, the relationship the story establishes between teller and audience — all shape what individuals can claim of their own lives. Personal stories are not merely a way of telling someone (or oneself) about one's life; they are the means by which identities may be fashioned
>
> Rosenwald & Ochberg, 1992

In light of the foregoing discursive view of self and identity that was sought, the following research questions were of interest and were employed to drive the methodology:

1. How does one portray one's self in one's narratives of personal exercise experiences as one adopts and attempts to adhere to an exercise program? I.e., what particular terms, concepts, and images of the self and identity are utilized in the construction of that story, and what are the implications for behaviors that encourage or discourage exercise?
2. What are the discourses within which a particular story is narrated in the construction of one's identity as one adopts and attempts to adhere to an exercise program, and how is one positioned within the discourse(s)? I.e., what sites of subjectivity are revealed by the narratives and the discourse(s) within which they occur and what are the implications for identity construction and behaviors that encourage or discourage exercise?

3. Toward what end, based on their implied conduct and discursive practices, does one use these narratives, as well as the particular terms, concepts, and images of the self/identity within those narratives, to afford and limit exercise behavior?
4. How do significant others portray the individual's identity via narrative, at the beginning and after the individual's exercise program, and what are the implications of this for the individual's discursive production of identity and patterns of exercise behavior?

Given the contributions of ethnomethodology, post-structuralism, and narrative psychology outlined for the development of a theory of self and identity to investigate exercise behavior, it is important to note that, from the outset, several questions were considered in selecting a methodology for this study. First, given that self and identity were to be conceptualized as conversations people have with themselves and others within discourse, as well as how they were positioned within those discourses, how was access to people's positioning within different discourses to be gained? Second, how could the discursive resources at people's disposal in the accomplishment of their self and identity, and the illocutionary or social effects this has, be examined? Third, how could we establish that identity and particular views of the self are constructed and maintained by significant others with whom people converse on a regular basis; i.e., how can we explore the idea that self and identity are "worked up" in conversations people have with others? And finally, how might this discursive conception and production of identity in relation to exercise and non-exercise behavior be explored? While ideally micro-interactions might have been explored, whereby people position themselves in everyday conversations with themselves and others and, in turn, try to discern that patterning in relation to exercise behavior, due to time and resource limitations, this was not feasible. Moreover, observing, capturing, and analyzing people's daily and habitual conversations with themselves and significant others was deemed impossible.

A more pragmatic strategy is to examine the overarching narratives people use to position themselves more generally as an indicator of the positions they take in those everyday conversations. Additionally, eliciting narratives prior to an individual undertaking an exercise program, throughout the exercise program, and after the program, allows for the discursive exploration of identity in relation to exercise behavior. Interviewing those others identified as significant prior to and after the individual's program in order to elicit the identities they have of that person, may also allow for the exploration of how identity is relational and the implications this has for behaviors that encourage or discourage exercise. Finally, interviewing those others also allows for the examination of how they are affected by the individual's attempt to change behavior from sedentary to active.

Method

A case study approach was employed to explore the foregoing research questions, as well as what this research sought to accomplish as a whole; i.e., the development of an alternative theory of the self and identity to further understand and investigate exercise adherence. Specifically, one case study of an adult woman was employed to explore the construction of identity, as she adopted and attempted to adhere to exercise over a sixteen-week period. Additionally, the narratives of identity that key significant others had of her were also elicited early in the woman's program and again at the end of the twelve weeks.

Such an approach was regarded as advantageous for two central reasons. First, the further development of a rich theoretical framework in which a focus upon broader theoretical issues for further understanding a topic of great importance (i.e., exercise adherence) to people in general was what was sought. For example, in Chapter One, the implications of influencing and further understanding exercise behavior for physical, mental, and social health were noted, as well as why the development of an alternative view of self and identity might be considered to help accomplish this task. While case study work does *not* seek to generalize from one case to the whole population (i.e., relying upon statistical generalization), it can be advantageously employed to generalize in an 'analytical' nature (i.e., utilize a particular set of results to generalize toward a broader theory) (Yin, 1994).

That said, a study and method such as the one described here is compelling in that it affords the opportunity to conceptualize and analyze a "phenomenon" such as identity and exercise behavior in ways never before explored (e.g., as conversations people have with themselves and others within broader discourses). And in turn, this alternative theoretical framework being developed and explored could not only have implications for other cases (Yin, 1994) in similar life situations/circumstances, but for how we might eventually go about modifying and maintaining behavioral change for those people.

In this regard, the second point of advantage following from this approach is that, in employing a case study method, an understanding of the clinical and applied value of these theoretical and methodological approaches could also be gained. As mentioned, there is research supporting this notion in the gerontological sphere (e.g., Paoletti, 1998a, 1998b), as well as in the area of psychological disorders (e.g., Capps & Ochs, 1995). For example, it is likely that to aide people's understanding of how their conversations with themselves and others contribute toward them being sedentary or active, one-on-one work with the individual and his/her significant others may be necessary. Developing and applying a case study approach such as the one proposed here could eventually aide in this endeavor via the development and refinement of questions asked and, more specifically, how the elicitation of narratives from the individual and significant others might be facilitated, analyzed, and eventually modified.

Participants

As already alluded to, a woman who was sedentary, but in the process of adopting a more "regular" exercise program (i.e., exercising three or more times per week, for 30-40 minutes per session) was recruited. This woman was recruited via an advertisement placed at a staff wellness fair. Specific characteristics sought included being relatively free of illness and injury, currently employed fulltime (e.g., non-student), between the ages of 30-45 years, and being in the process of incorporating regular exercise into one's lifestyle after having been inactive for six months or more. Additionally, women willing to share their exercise experiences every three weeks over a twelve week period (i.e., four separate interviews), and approximately five weeks later (i.e., a follow-up interview), and willing to consent to having her significant others interviewed on two separate occasions throughout the program were also sought. The specific characteristics (e.g., age, occupational status, exercise history) and current life situation of this woman are outlined in the Results chapter that follows (Chapter Four).

While the results presented centre on one woman, three additional cases of women ranging in age from 31- 45 years old, who were also attempting integrate exercise into their lives after having been sedentary, also participated in this research. All four women's exercise behavior was followed for a period of twelve weeks, and four interviews were conducted with each woman throughout this time period, including a follow-up interview at week sixteen. Additionally, the women's significant others were interviewed on two separate occasions throughout the twelve week period. A total of 40 interviews resulted for all four case studies.

I chose to focus on this one case for three reasons. First, this woman and her significant others' interviews were very in-depth and also regarded as completed (i.e., all interviews were conducted and completed according to the appropriate timelines). This was not the case with all of the three remaining cases, with some significant others declining to be re-interviewed, and one of the "exercisers" declining to be interviewed for her follow-up interview at week sixteen. Thus, the woman and her significant others' interviews chosen yielded rich data. Second, while all the cases were interesting, because this woman was going through a number of significant life transitions (e.g., going back to work after having a child, trying to exercise and lose weight after having a baby, trying to find proper day care for her three year old son, changes in her relationship with her husband), I found her to be particularly interesting. In this regard, given that there has been a call in the exercise adherence literature to study people in life transitions in order to learn more about the adherence process (see Taylor et al., 1994), this woman's data was deemed extremely useful. Third, and finally, this woman alone was chosen for the write-up of these results because her data allowed me to answer my research questions and explore the discursive production of identity. In this regard, it is worth noting that when I first began analyzing and writing up this one case, my intent at that time was to write up another case and do a comparative analysis. However, given the large volume data and the scope of this dissertation, in the end, the data from this one woman was deemed appropriate to accomplish the overarching goals of this research.

During initial interviews information regarding the woman's significant others (i.e., those individuals with whom she interacted on a regular and daily basis) were elicited. Shortly thereafter, significant others were contacted and interviewed within the first two weeks of the woman's program. Her significant others were interviewed a second time at the end of the twelve week period. This was done in order to glean the various identities they historically and currently had of her, how they felt about her undertaking an exercise program, what outcomes they expected he to experience, and hoe her exercise program was affecting them. As well, interviewing significant others early in the course of the woman's exercise program and again at the end allowed for the exploration of possible changing identities they had of the women as each attempted to adhere to exercise. This also allowed for the exploration of non-changing or fixed/permanent identities they worked up of her in and through their talk that impeded or facilitated exercise behavior. Significant others listed as important by the woman and whom she would consent to be interviewed consisted of a spouse and a co-worker/exercise partner. The specifics of those significant others will also be outlined in the chapter that follows (i.e., Chapter Four). Personal information regarding the woman's past exercise history and what her exercise goals were was collected via a short questionnaire (Appendix C).

Interviews

As mentioned, the woman and her significant others were interviewed individually, on several different occasions. The interview schedule for the "exerciser" (i.e., woman adopting and attempting to adhere to exercise) consisted of the following time lines:

- Within the first two weeks of her undertaking her exercise an in-depth open-ended interview was conducted. During this interview, informed consent was obtained (Appendix A). In order to provide a facilitating context for the research interview and in order to elicit some key stories around how the woman currently viewed her self in relation to exercise, approximately seven broad questions were asked, along with two supplemental probes (Spradley, 1979; Riessman, 1993) (Appendix D). These interviews were usually over one hour in length.

- Throughout the remaining weeks, similar interviews were conducted on three separate occasions, approximately every four weeks (Appendix E).
- After a period of twelve weeks, a follow-up interview was conducted approximately four weeks later (Appendix F).

The *significant others* were interviewed according to the following timelines:

- The woman's husband and her co-worker/exercise partner were both interviewed within the first two weeks of her having undertaken her exercise program. During this interview informed consent was obtained (Appendix B), and these others were also asked open ended questions (Appendix G). These interviews were typically thirty to forty five minutes in length.
- Significant others were interviewed on one other occasion; during the twelfth week of the woman's program to see what their views of her were and if they had changed (Appendix H).

Exercise Program and Exercise Behavior

The woman who answered the recruitment ad was undertaking an exercise program outside of any registered programs offered at the University of Alberta or elsewhere; i.e., she was initiating an exercise program of her own choosing on her own time. Thus, this woman had already chosen to begin a running program and indeed had already undertaken two weeks of that program (though her exercise behavior had already lapsed for one of those weeks) prior to seeing and answering the recruitment ad for this study. She had indicated this program was taking place in the fitness centre at her place of work. Information regarding exercise behavior was obtained for a twelve-week period via providing the woman with an activity log to keep track of her weekly exercise and physical activity behavior. These sheets were then collected at the beginning of each interview and were often employed to facilitate the interview; i.e., the women often referred to the activity sheet when discussing her experiences and reasons that related to exercise and/or non-exercise behavior. A new activity log covering a period of approximately four weeks was provided at the start of each interview.

Introducing Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis was employed in the exploration and analysis of the narratives gleaned in the interviews with the woman and her significant others. Additionally, discourse analysis assisted in the identification of the subject positions of the woman that afforded those particular narratives, and the larger discourses within which they occurred. The term 'discourse analysis' is a very broad name given to a variety of approaches that study texts which draw upon different theoretical traditions. The approach to discourse analysis that I took was from Potter and Wetherell (1987, 1995) and Parker (1992). I will briefly outline the theoretical traditions that each draws upon.

Potter and Wetherell take a constructivist position to analysing discourse, emphasizing that discourse is 'constructive' and therefore constitutes objects and categories. This view also emphasizes that what people say is variable (i.e., not consistent) , but varies according to how talk functions. Also implicit in this approach is Garfinkel's (1967) ethnomethodology which focuses on what people's accounts are designed to accomplish and the details of how social interaction is organized. It is acknowledged that this approach is a non-critical approach to discourse analysis. Despite the inclusion and acknowledgement of the social in its approach, it has been critized for being one-sided and individualistic and therefore insufficiently developed in its social orientation to discourse (see Fairclough, 1992).

Parker's approach is a somewhat more critical approach to discourse analysis than Potter and Wetherell's (1992). Parker (1992) suggests seven criteria for identitifying discourses (to be outlined shortly). These criteria are largely drawn from several of Foucault's (1972, 1979) insights into discourse. These insights include that discourse is constitutive (i.e., discourse constitutes the social world, including objects), discursive practice is defined by its relation with other discourses and draws upon other discourses in complex ways, discourse has a political nature (i.e., power struggles occur in and over discourse), and social change is discursive (i.e., a change in discursive practices is an important element in bringing about social change) (Fairclough, 1992, p.55-56).

This analysis was carried out on nine interviews in total; five for the woman who was attempting to exercise and two for each of her significant others (i.e., her husband and co-worker/exercise partner). To facilitate analyses and understanding, the interviews were transcribed within 24-48 hours after they were conducted. The rationale behind this will be discussed further under 'stages of discourse analysis'. Additionally, field notes and personal reflections and perceptions of the researcher, particularly as these related to the research questions of interest were also recorded by hand in a logbook that the researcher kept throughout the study, particularly after interviews and while transcribing. These notes were used to help contextualize what was said and how it was said during the interviews, and how all this ultimately related to the research questions of interest. Thus these notes also facilitated subsequent analyses, particularly those performed during the write up of the results chapters (i.e., Chapters Five and Six). Additionally, all interviews were transferred into a data base and qualitative analysis software package known as atlas.ti (1997). This program was useful in assisting the researcher with "making sense" of the data, particularly in relation to the discourses and the specific terms, concepts and phrases within those and the identities into which those converged. Prior to coding the data, the transcripts were printed up in hard copy form and read many times over in the context and consideration of the discourse analysis principles that follow. The coding of data was also done in the context of the discourse analysis principles that follow. How atlas.ti (1997) assisted in coding and making sense of the data will be discussed in greater detail shortly.

In outlining these principles for analysis, it must first be noted that there was no "how to" or "step-by-step" guide utilized when performing this discourse analysis in the conventional sense that method is typically understood. However, it was still possible to employ some general guidelines when approaching the data. Thus, what will be presented next will be the broad theoretical framework for how the discourse(s) were dealt with. Several points and frames of reference that were used to guide the analyses of the narratives, as well as facilitate the identification of subject positions, and the discourses within which they are embedded will also be presented. Following this, a more specific presentation of how computer assisted analysis to code and index the data, and how this aided in applying the framwork for identifying discourses will then be outlined.

Principles for Analysis

To begin, Harre's (1997) two-fold objectives of discourse analysis were utilized as a framework and general guideline for making sense of the narratives. These include that first analysis seeks to reveal action structures and behavioral effects of a sequence of utterances that make up an instance of human interaction. This can pertain even to the reflexive interaction one might have with one's self. Second, analysis seeks to identify the psychological terms and concepts and the identities into which those converge, etc. which are brought into being via the talk, as well as understanding the discursive construction of that talk. If we return to an earlier premise that the researcher's task was to show how and that self and identity are linguistic events tied to behavioral practices (in this case exercise behavior and non-exercise behaviors), it should be evident that these objectives of discourse analysis were congruent with this task.

Another important point employed to guide this "data analysis" was that the analysis of the narratives was achieved in and through writing; one does not perform analysis and then write up the results. Indeed, it has been noted that "progress can be judged by the volume of unsatisfactory drafts in the waste-paper basket" (Billig, 1997, p.48), suggesting there is no substitute for trying out different ways of analysis, and then abandoning them. In this regard, the write up/analysis of this case took several drafts which spanned a period of four months of intensive analysis and writing.

Thus, it is also important to note that while this methodology chapter is being presented as separate and "self-contained" from the results chapter, the two are regarded as inseparable. Lest it be unclear, what this means is that in writing up the results section, in part, the analyses of the narratives was also being performed. For this reason I struggled with how to present my method and my results. In the end it was decided to present them as separate chapters, and to simply draw the reader's attention to this caveat in each chapter.

Together, the foregoing might seem an ambiguous way to deal with data; however, it must again be stressed that discourse analysis is very different from traditional methods. In particular, the challenge was to avoid doing what Garfinkel (1967) called "repairing the indexicality" of talk in which we reconstruct it in ways that make sense for *us* rather than how it was for the *participants*. How to avoid this or could this be avoided at all? To answer this and to try to accomplish this goal, two sources were drawn upon for guidance and understanding, Parker's (1992) criteria for distinguishing discourses, and Potter and Wetherell's (1987; 1995) stages of discourse analysis.

Distinguishing Discourses

When performing a discourse analysis, a good place to begin is to ask the general question, what *is* a discourse? Up to this point, it has not been explicitly stated what counted as a discourse and how did I "know" when I had found one. Generally, as mentioned when discussing post-structuralism, a discourse can be regarded as "a system of statements which construct an object" (Foucault, 1972; Parker, 1992, p.5). In this case, the objects being sought were those that related to identity construction (e.g., 'mother', 'father', and 'fit female form'). From this, several criteria or supporting conditions were utilized to identify objects, as outlined by Parker (1992). While Parker outlines seven criteria, as well as three auxiliary criteria for making discourse analysis politically useful, only those criteria employed in the analyses of the woman's narratives and those of her significant others to answer the research question(s) proposed will be discussed. It will again be stressed that these ideas were not employed as sequential, how-to-steps, which were set and applied in any particular order. Therefore the order in which they are presented should be regarded as arbitrary rather than illustrative of what was actually done in a step-by-step fashion when analyzing the narratives.

The first criterion employed was that a discourse is about objects and, thus, discourse analysis entails regarding discourse(s) as objects. Thus, when analyzing the narratives, it was asked what objects were being referred to. These were then described, not only in light of what they were, but also how they were *used*, and the social and behavioral effects they had, particularly in light of the woman's exercise and non-exercise behaviors. This also required "talking about the talk as if it were an object or discourse" (Parker, 1992, p.9). For example, in their case study of agoraphobia, Capps and Ochs (1995) examined the structure of the woman's narratives, focusing on the linguistic resources utilized habitually, the effects of which were the creation and maintenance of particular "emotions", "identities", and actions. The further effects were that the woman re-casted events (past, present, and future) in her life as potentially problematic, the final result of which was the construction and reification of "agoraphobia".

In the case of the woman in this study who was given the pseudonym of "Joan", in the context of the aforementioned criteria, the structure of her narratives revealed that she habitually drew upon a patriarchal discourse of the family and a discourse of motherhood when discussing why she did and did not adhere to exercise or when making sense of her situation. As such, she was predisposed to have particular experiences in relation to her exercise and lack of exercise, and as such employed particular terms in the identities that she constructed and worked up. In this regard, it was identified with the help of atlas.ti (1997) and it's coding function, that Joan tended to view herself or construct herself as a "mother" who was primarily responsible for the wellbeing of her children and harmony within her family. Thus, particular statements and the specific concepts/terms employed within those statements allowed for the identification of this identity of "mother". However, it must be stressed that these words were linked to the construction of this identity that was being worked up and the effects this had for constructing Joan's actions in a particular way; it was not that these words revealed the hidden term or concept of 'identity' that resided somewhere within Joan.

For example, Joan talked about the childcare practices that she performed and how she felt about these and in so doing, she tended to draw upon particular terms such as being "tired" and "stressed", saying that she "felt responsible" to get her son on a proper sleeping schedule. In turn she performed behaviors and actions that related to this which had the effect of creating and maintaining her guilt and anxiety (and at times alleviating it) as she attempted to integrate exercise into her life (this will be discussed more in-depth in the results section). Speaking in these ways and using terms such as "tired" and "stressed" also had the effect of allowing Joan to work up and maintain her identity as a "good mother" within the patriarchal discourse of the family and the discourse of motherhood. As we shall see, this also had the effect of predisposing her to avoid her exercise sessions without guilt and anxiety.

The second criterion was to identify the sites of subjectivity or the positioning of Joan within the discourses. This entailed viewing the discourses as containing 'subjects' and asking what role was the speaker having to adopt within the discourse, and at the same time, what ways and rights of speaking (e.g., particular narratives) did those positions confer within a discourse? (Parker, 1992). This was accomplished by specifying the types of persons talked about in a discourse, some of whom were already identified as objects (e.g., "mother", "father", "working" "mother", "fit female form", "woman"). From this, it was speculated as to what Joan and her others were afforded to say (e.g., attending to what concepts and terms within a particular occasioned narrative were used by the speaker) in the discourse; "what rights (does one have) to speak in that way of speaking" (Parker, 1992, p. 10) when speaking from these socially constructed positions. Stated differently, it was asked which people were assigned particular speaking parts and roles or "voices" in the development of a narrative (Harre, 1997).

To further this understanding of how meaning(s) was generated from and within and through discourse(s) and how this constituted Joan's subjectivity, Hollway's (1989) suggestions for analyzing accounts employing a feminist poststructuralist framework were also employed. While time and space prohibits an exhaustive discussion of these, included here is a brief summary of the main "thrust" of Hollway's (1989) method. For a more in-depth discussion, the reader is referred to Hollway's book, *Subjectivity and method in psychology: Gender, meaning, and science*, particularly Chapter Three entitled "Meaning and Method" (p. 32-46).

In brief, Hollway suggests that in performing an analysis of discourses and subject positions that subscribes to a feminist poststructuralist framework, one must reject the assumption that one necessarily uses the same discourses as the participants. In so doing, one then identifies the discourses in light of what discourses *the participant(s)* is expressing and how this reflects upon his/her conduct (i.e., behavior) and self-evaluation experiences. Using this principle, I attempted to focus upon the *process aspect* of the extracts of Joan and her significant others. This was in light of the notion that while there were potentially many different meanings and descriptions that can and do exist about something (e.g., motherhood and the family), those meanings will be known (and limited) in light of how people are positioned in relation to them.

Furthermore, Hollway's discussion of meaning and method further reinforced and brought to light while I was reading/analyzing the narratives the notion that participants will often strive for coherence and consistency in the narratives they produce. For those working with data in a more traditional sense, in this regard one might then be tempted to conclude that people do *have* stable 'self-concepts', 'identities' and 'roles'; thus people *are* coherent and rational. However, this is not because they are coherent and rational beings. Rather, this way of speaking about one's self and others speaking about that person in those ways is an important effect on subjectivity of the dominant assumption within Western culture of the unitary rational subject. I mention this here because this notion was an important part of my own interpretation and analysis of the narrative accounts that ultimately lead me to conclude (and hence present) that Joan and her others constructed and viewed her as mother who was naturally responsible for the children, and that nothing could change that. This was an important outcome/effect of *them* drawing upon a discourse of the rational subject in conjunction with patriarchal discourses, which together reinforced the central tenet that it goes without saying that woman who are mothers cannot change the "fact" that it is they who are the better and more natural caregivers when compared with men.

Additionally, the regularities and discursive features in the narratives were attended to via developing understandings of what was going on in contemporary western culture and within the disciplines of psychology and sociology. This was developed and facilitated via a more general overall reading of the data, and also the employment of theoretical and cultural understanding. For example, what was currently going on in the Joan's life (e.g., illness/injury, summer holidays, workplace conflicts, the social climate of her family and her relationship with her husband) was relevant to her identity construction and the behaviors that were encouraged (i.e., exercise, childcare practices, working). Additionally, what she had indicated her *past* and historical experiences were with various relationships with her husband, and also her past experiences with exercise/non-exercise behavior were also important.

At the level of theoretical and cultural understanding, as the transcripts were read, various texts were also drawn upon to make sense of the discourses and the behavioral and emotional effects that resulted for Joan. Such understanding was facilitated by employing texts/readings about women's place and subjectivity in organized labor and the family, and how women's bodies are currently viewed, particularly in relation to health practices such as exercise. Feminist texts/readings, particularly those from a poststructuralist perspective, were also useful in providing the identification of discourses and subject positions, as well as elucidating theoretical implications. For example, in regards to the body and exercise, employed were the works/writings of Bartky (1988), Bordo (1990), Foucault (1979), Giddens (1991), Lloyd (1996), Shilling (1993), and Sparkes (1997). In regards to the workplace, the family, and motherhood, work/writings employed came from Fairclough (1992), Hochschild (1989), Hollway (1989), Nicholson and Ussher (1992), Treblicot (1984), and Weedon (1987).

Another important criterion employed was to consider the discourses as coherent systems of meanings. Thus, the concepts, terms, and pictures of "reality" (in this case, various identities worked up and the experiences and practices tied to that) painted by discourses, were themselves condensed into statements about that reality (Parker, 1992). This was achieved by grouping the statements in a discourse and conceding that they had 'coherence' insofar as referring to the same topic.

Facilitation of this was also achieved by employing the theoretical and cultural understandings alluded to earlier as to what a topic or theme consisted of (e.g., patriarchal discourses of the family constructed the identity of "wife" and "mother", these same discourses constructed the identity of "husband" and "father"). Moreover, this involved mapping out a possible world view or picture that the discourse painted (e.g., that men are the head of the family and not well-suited to help with childcare and that women are the primary caregivers and nurturers who must maintain harmony within the family), and also delineating how a specific text utilizing this discourse might deal with objections to the terminology (Parker, 1992). As mentioned, the computer software program alas.ti (1997) assisted with this by allowing the researcher to code and group statements as they pertained to various identities (e.g., "hard working mother", "fit female body", "unfit female body") and the effects/outcomes (e.g., Joan's sacrifices in order to preserve the structure of the family by engaging in the majority of childcare practices and giving up exercise or Joan structuring and limiting her exercise in certain way to attain a particular version of the fit female form) they implied.

Finally, an acknowledgment that the discourses identified referred to other discourses was also an important part of the analyses. This had two important implications. First, in order to articulate the researcher's reflections on discourse, other discourses that were not necessarily part of those the participants used were employed. This also again required the already acknowledged awareness that discourses used by participants not only delimited what *they* said, but that the analyst's referral and use of discourses also delimited her interpretation and representation of the talk.

A good example of this comes from my own presentation and discussion of my method and results. In light of my own positioning and drawing upon traditional discourses of psychology and the discourse of the rational subject, I chose to present these results in a coherent, almost linear fashion so that it makes sense (hopefully) to the reader, though the narratives and the specific talk/terms within them gleaned were not like this. At the same time I am also drawing upon poststructuralist writings and discourses which afford me the opportunity to present and discuss this data in alternative ways and forms. Ultimately, I still have chosen to use a more conventional style when it comes to representing this data and my method. Furthermore, because the participants in the study employed several discourses when giving their accounts, which implied other discourses and contradictions in the construction of meaning and objects (in this case images of the self and identity), these were also identified.

This further implies two important points with respect to the subsequent analyses conducted. The first of these is to be aware that various terms, concepts and ways of speaking about one's self-identity are *always* (in theory) available for use by drawing upon other discourses. This means a speaker can have space to find another voice available within another discourse, with other behaviors and social practices being encouraged. This relates to the subject positions already discussed, and has implications for behavioral change which will be talked about in Chapters Six and Seven. Second, this again meant that analysis was facilitated via attending to the variability and contradictions within the discourses as well as what was coherent and consistent. Thus, analysis was also facilitated by setting contrasting ways of speaking and discourses against each other, and looking at the different sets of objects constituted by them (e.g., the discourse of liberal feminism which made "parents" as objects vs. the patriarchal discourse of the family which made "mother" and "father" the objects). Additionally, identifying where they overlapped and constituted similar objects in different ways was also of interest (Parker, 1992) E.g., how the object of "mother" was constructed within a patriarchal discourse vs. a liberal feminist discourse and the implications this had or could have had for Joan's experiences and her behavior.

Ultimately, all of the foregoing lead to the difficult task of having to "draw the line" so-to-speak as to what discourses were to be of interest and focused on the presentation (and eventually discussion) of the results. In this regard, it was decided to focus upon six main discourses: three within the first results chapter, and three within the second results chapter. These were felt to be central to the construction of Joan's identity as well as the identities her significant others had of Joan and themselves. However, in delimiting the discourses in this way, it is acknowledged that numerous discourses were excluded from the interpretation and presentation of these results that could have enhanced the interpretation of these results. For example, other discourses that were identified in the analyses and that also contributed toward the formation of the various identities Joan worked up and that others worked up included a discourse of blame, the discourse of psychology, the discourse of the rational subject, a discourse of work and organzied labour, a discourse of eating and nutrition, and a discourse of friendship.

Excluding these discourses could have again *in theory* had just as much importance as those that were chosen for understanding the identities that Joan and her others discursively constructed and the implications of these for exercise and non-exercise behaviors. The discourses that were chosen in the final write up of the results were chosen because these were thought to be *central* to the identities that were focused on (i.e., mother, father, fit female form) and the particular story that was being constructed (i.e., one of exercise adherence failure due to the competing identity of "mother" that was worked up repeatedly by Joan and her significant others). Additionally it should be noted that some of the aforementioned discourses that were not used in this final write-up were included in earlier drafts such as a discourse of work and organized labour, the discourse of psychology, and the discourse of the rational subject. Not suprisingly, these afforded me the possibility to tell a somewhat different story and also to deepen the analyses. However, in the end it was felt that including all of these discourses was beyond the scope of this dissertation and these were therefore excluded. In this regard it is also acknowledged that depending upon the story being told (e.g., a story about the politics of exercise and the body) that future writings produced from this data might include some of the foregoing discourses excluded (e.g., the discourse of the rational subject, discourses of blame).

Stages of Discourse Analysis

According to Potter and Wetherell's (1987) stages of how to analyze discourse, selection of participants, collection of records/documents, conduction of interviews, transcription, coding, and final data analysis, should be approached in a particular way when doing discourse analysis. Thus, when selecting participants, because the focus was upon language-in-use rather than the generation of language per se, a smaller sample or a few interviews were deemed adequate for investigating the large number of linguistic patterns that emerged. Additionally, the collection and presentation of this research subscribed to the notion that we can learn information about the generality of a culture through the specificity of people's accounts (this is based on theoretical sampling) (Hollway, 1989). Thus, whatever any one person said was regarded as potentially meaningful, and therefore information derived from a small number of participants was valid because those accounts are ultimately a product of the social domain.

In this case, one case study of a sedentary adult woman and her significant others (e.g., husband and co-worker/exercise partner) was utilized. Despite this use of "just one case" with nine interviews, this generated a large amount of transcribed data, which when coded and analyzed within the program of alas.ti, yielding approximately 240 pages of single spaced data.

In regards to records and documents, as mentioned, ideally one would want to collect the conversations people have with various others and themselves with respect to exercise. In the case of the woman in this study, being a "fly on the wall" to record and observe conversations and interactions between her and her husband, and her and her exercise partner would have been particularly interesting given the goals and objectives of this study and the theoretical perspectives to which it subscribed (e.g., ethnomethodology). However, as mentioned, recording such conversations and interactions was simply impossible given the scope of this study and the resources at hand. Thus, in the end, it was thought to be more pragmatic to conduct interviews with the woman and her significant others and follow her exercise and/or non-exercise behavior over a period of several weeks, gleaning narratives throughout those weeks about those experiences.

Interviews conducted employing discourse analysis in the foregoing ways discussed differ from conventional interviews in two important ways. First, variation in interview talk was attended to just as consistency was. In regards to the latter, consistency was important, but only with respect to the identification of language-in-use, recurring instances of similar subject positions and identities that were worked up, or the larger discourses within which those occurred. This was in contrast to conventional interviews that focus on consistency in order to support the existence of some extant phenomenon beneath the discourse (e.g., 'attitudes', 'beliefs', 'self-esteem'). With regards to the former, while consistency was important because it suggests participants are drawing upon limited discursive resources, focusing on the variation of responses also revealed a fuller range of accounting resources participants drew upon in constructing the meaning of who they "are" (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). This was also discussed earlier in relation to Hollway's (1989) approach to discourse analysis.

Following from this is the second important point, which was that the interviewing techniques employed in this study with Joan and her significant others *accommodated diversity* instead of trying to eliminate it. This meant that questions employed to elicit narratives were constructed as open-ended as possible. The interview questions provided earlier attempted to accommodate for this; however, at times during the interviews it was necessary to deviate in order facilitate the elicitation of narratives. In this regard, probes were often inserted in order to clarify questions and further participants' responses.

In addition to Parker's (1992) suggestions for identifying discourses, a few other points warrant mention which facilitated analysis. For example, in order to provide the context for each interview and any additional conversations that may have taken place prior to the interview was tape recorded and after the tape recorder was shut off, interviews were usually transcribed within one or two days of completing them. Once this was done, each interview was then printed up and was read. While reading, as suggested by Parker, I was asking, "why am I reading this passage this way?" and "what features produce this reading?". Moreover, as mentioned, the transcripts were read, and then re-read throughout the study and during the course of analyses. Here, there were no set rules applied as to how many times the transcript for each individual was revisited, although because the goal was to become as familiar with the transcript as possible, each transcript was read a minimum of six times. Despite this, it is still felt that is was impossible to fully exhaust the material, providing a "complete" and "finished" analysis. Therefore, all analyses, even those which might be published or presented in the near future, are regarded as provisional (Billig, 1997).

In this case, when reading, I did not read for the "gist", trying to produce a simple unitary summary in which vagueness and contradictions were ignored. Instead, returning to one of the philosophical premises upon which discourse analysis is based, it was kept in mind that language does not solely represent; it has functions, associated practices, and effects. Thus, for the most part, the focus was upon what was actually said by each participant, and the functions and consequences of those utterances for the speaker, particularly for Joan's identity construction. Ultimately, this also necessitated understanding the history and time in which the discourses were located, thus being able to explain and understand how they arose; "the structure and force of a particular discourse can only be described by showing other instances of that discourse" (Parker, 1992, p.16). Again, as mentioned, several texts and readings were drawn upon to facilitate this. In particular, this notion of discourse being located in relation to a history of practices which have become sedimented within the individual's talk and behavioral practices, as well as within the institutional surroundings in which they live and participate will be dealt with more explicitly in Chapter Six.

Computer Assisted Analysis

As mentioned, atlas.ti was used to assist with making sense of and accomplishing the analysis of the data (i.e., identifying discourses and the identities that were worked up within them using the above criteria and stages of discourse analysis). Atlas.ti is a tool that mechanizes tasks or asists with the recording and ordering of texts. Thus, this software tool is for data administration and archiving and helps with an interpretive analysis of textual data (Kelle, 2000).

Two stages of analysis were done. In stage one key discourses used by Joan and her significant others were identified. In stage two the interview statements were reviewed using the set of discourses identified in order to examine how the discourses were used and the effects that this had. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

To accomplish the first stage, a non-formatted textual data base was first constructed using atlas.ti from the tapes that were initially transcribed and stored in micro-soft word. Preliminary to coding is that the transcripts were read and re-read approximately ten times. Categories of coding were in part determined by the research questions of interest, by drawing upon discourse theory and discourses identified within the literature, and also by common-sense knowledge. Thus, as I read through the transcripts, initially coding paradigms (Kelle, 2000) were developed. Because this was early in the process of analysis, these paradigms were regarded as more abstract and did not yet denote well-defined empirical events. Rather, these codes served as heuristic processes and were done as inclusively and broadly as possible so that all boderline instances would be counted in rather than out (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). For example, several codes were created from common-sense knowledge whereby text passages were coded where the interviewee (i.e., Joan or one of her significant others) talked about experiences in relation to exercise about one's self, work, home, family, physical condition, and emotions/feelings etc. Here, specific words within specific passages were highlighted and/or entire passages of text were highlighted. Following this, these passages were attached to a code or category word that was thought to be representative based upon common-sense knowledge, and the social and cultural understandings as to the potential meaning(s) associated with that category in the context of what was being said. Initial highlighting of words and phrases and the attachment to particular codes also included instances where Joan and her significant others referred to why Joan was exercising, or why she was not exercising, or were related to exercise in general and then more specifically subcoded (e.g., "past instances of exercise", "current reasons for not exercising").

Additionally, employing some of the feminist texts and literature on the discursive production of identity discussed earlier, material was also structured according to general categories being worked up in the participants' talk (e.g., 'mother', 'husband', 'wife', 'body', 'exerciser', 'non-exerciser', 'hard worker'). Once these codes were identified and attached to particular segments of text, memos were attached to each code. A memo in atlas.ti is a brief description that can be attached to a code to either define it or record key features about that code. It is a useful way to keep track of the meaning of codes and how these might be linked and related to other codes as a more fine grained analysis proceeds.

As the analysis proceeded, the statements/accounts began to be grouped into culturally and socially constructed identity categories (e.g., "fit female form", "unfit female form", "good mother", "bad mother", "post-pregnancy body"). This was also accomplished by moving back and forth between the literature and the text passages. Additionally, atlas.ti also allows for the creation of links and the indentification of where concepts and categories attached to instances of text overlap and/or are distinct. Thus, once these identity categories were identified and coded, the relatedness of the categories and terms were grouped accordingly (e.g., all the different statements and terms that constructed the "good mother", all the statements and terms that constructed the "fit female form", all the statements that constructed the "unfit female form").

From here, the sub-categories of identity that were developed (e.g., "good mother", "tired mother", "fit female form", "present overweight and unfit female form") were visually used to identify and build the various discourses (i.e., after creating links between codes, atlas.ti also allows one to literally build and view the inter-relationships of codes and the instances of text attached to it). In conjunction with the literature, the foregoing faciliated the identification of the different discourses. Thus, this identification of discourses from the categories and specific pieces of text was what has been termed an iterative process of moving between the texts and different discourses discussed in the literature and the objects that these constructed (Gephart, 1993). In this way, the discourses were developed in large part by relating features observed in the conversations of Joan and her significant others and the different discourses discussed in the literature.

After the foregoing was accomplished, a second stage of analysis was done in which the interview statements were reviewed using the surfaced set of discourses identified to examine how the discourses were used and effects that this had for Joan's experiences and behavior in relation to her current situation, Joan's husband's experiences in relation to Joan's exercise and/or lack of exercise and her exercise partner's experiences in relation to Joan's exercise and/or lack of exercise.

In the chapter that follows, it will be illustrated more explicitly how the foregoing tools were employed to construct and interpret the results of this case that consisted of Joan and her significant others and show how and that identity is a linguistic and discursive construction which is maintained by one's self and others.

CHAPTER IV

Results Introduction

> …most women find it difficult to cope with the conditions that surround motherhood in western society. Motherhood is important but it is given low status. It is a hidden, almost unrewarded, sphere of life. The mother…is the 'object' of the discourse; she is not expected to have any needs (other than the need to nurture) but she is expected to be available to the needs of the men and their children: the active ingredients of the family.
>
> Nicolson, 1992

As mentioned in the previous chapter, discourse analysis takes a different approach to data than that of more "traditional" modes of research. This has implications for how the results are analyzed, interpreted, and presented. Thus, before presenting the results of this case and discussing them, it is important to reiterate two points brought forward earlier in the preceding methodology chapter. Those points in brief are that, first, analysis is achieved in and through writing; one does not perform an analysis and then simply write up the results (Billig, 1997). Thus, in presenting and discussing the data in this manner it is not only the results that are presented but the analyses are presented as well. Second, the presentation of these results is in no way regarded as an exhaustive or final reading of the narratives. Rather, as the theoretical framework to which this research subscribes would suggest, these results represent one of many possible readings and interpretations of the narratives and their effects. Given the research questions and the goal of what this research seeks to accomplish as a whole (i.e., to show that identity is a collection of narratives spoken from subject positions within discourses which are constructed and maintained by various others and institutional practices), this way of analyzing, interpreting, and presenting the results was compatible.

Thus, what follows are the results and also, in part, the analyses of one woman's narratives and those of her significant others as she attempted to integrate regular exercise into her life over a period of sixteen weeks. This woman has been given the pseudonym of "Joan" to protect her identity. Joan's husband has been given the pseudonym of "Joe" and her exercise partner has been given the pseudonym of "Ray" to likewise protect their identities. Additionally, some background information (e.g., occupation, place of work) and actual names of people and places within the narratives have been modified slightly in order to protect the identities of Joan and those of her significant others.

In order to explore the notion that identity is a collection of narratives spoken from subject positions within discourses which are constructed and maintained by various others and institutional practices, these results have been divided into two chapters. Chapter Five will explore Joan's reasons for exercising (i.e., why Joan wants to exercise) and will show that Joan's identity is in part a product of conversations that she and others have about why she wants to exercise within particular discourses. This is important because these reasons for exercising ultimately have important implications for Joan's experiences in relation to exercise as well as her ability to incorporate exercise into her life. Chapter Six will then explore Joan's lack of exercise adherence (i.e., why Joan does not meet an exercise prescription) and will show how the specific discourses that Joan and others draw upon as well as how the social practices linked to these created a particular situation that made regular exercise difficult for Joan. Each of these chapters will be followed by a separate discussion of the implications of the findings for Joan's experiences in relation to exercise and behavioral change (i.e., changing sedentary behavior to active behavior).

The overarching goal of these chapters is to show that Joan's identity in the present emerges and is the result of an ongoing process and history of conversations with herself and others that take place within particular discourses drawn upon habitually by Joan and others. Moreover, these chapters tell a story in which Joan and her significant others inadvertently, through their use of language, negotiated the social practices in which Joan participated in the past, making it difficult for her to engage in practices that encourage her exercise in the present and future. But before proceeding with these chapters, it is first necessary to provide some background information on Joan and her current life situation in order to set the context of what is to follow.

Background Information

Joan is 35 years old and works full time Monday through Friday (i.e., approximately 40 hours per week) as a research associate. Joan has been married to Joe for five years. Joe is several years older than Joan and he too is employed full time working Monday through Friday. Their children David and Stephen are one and three years old respectively.

Given that both Joan and Joe work full time, they had arranged for childcare for their two sons while they worked. Thus, Joan's mother-in-law looked after their oldest son Stephen three days a week, and for two other days a week he attended a daycare facility. This daycare arrangement was made only one month prior to Joan contacting me for this study, and she indicated it was made so that Stephen could be around other children and be socialized properly. Joan's mother looked after their youngest son, David, Monday through Friday. Both Joan's mother-in-law and mother were from Hong Kong. Joan told me that neither had ever worked outside of the home; thus both women tended to be "traditional" when it came to their views on childcare and the family.

In addition to the foregoing arrangements, outside of work Joan was the primary caregiver to the children and performed the majority of the household duties. For example, in addition to cooking and cleaning, she took on the majority of the childcare responsibilities. These included feeding the children, bathing them, putting them to bed, getting them ready to leave the house in the morning, and dropping them off and picking them up from either grandmother's house or daycare. When it came to childcare, Joe helped out mainly with those duties that concerned their oldest son Stephen, such as playing with him while Joan looked after David, or looking after him if Joan had any weekend work commitments. If Joe did help out with other duties such as bathing or feeding the children, he usually regarded this as a favor that he did for Joan.

I first came into contact with Joan in the late spring after she had contacted me in response to an advertisement I had placed at a staff wellness fair. After explaining more in detail what the study entailed, we arranged to set up a meeting for our first interview at Joan's place of work. At our initial meeting, Joan indicated that in the past her physical activity participation had been sporadic and varied. Specifically, she had indicated that she had not been involved in any regular physical activity for approximately four years, with her last regular activity program taking place between January 1995 and February 1996. During that time period, she was running three times per week for approximately 30-45 minutes per session. However, she also indicated that within that time frame she had become pregnant and decided to switch her activities to walking and cycling, and that once the pregnancy was in an advanced state, she ceased exercising altogether. Approximately one and a half years after the birth of Stephen she attempted to reinstate a running program, but in light of her childcare and work duties she found it difficult to exercise on a consistent and regular basis. Shortly thereafter, Joan became pregnant with her second son, David.

Once David was a year old and Stephen was three, Joan felt it was time to reintroduce exercise into her life for a variety of reasons (which will be discussed in the next chapter as they pertain to Joan's self and identity construction). Two weeks after she had already initiated her exercise program, Joan contacted me in response to a recruitment advertisement placed at a staff wellness fair. Joan indicated that, similar to her past successful exercise regime, her hoped for exercise regime was to consist of running three to five times per week, 30-40 minutes per session, with a hoped-for distance goal of five kilometers per session. The majority of her running would take place on a treadmill at her place of work during her lunch hour, as it would not be convenient for her to exercise in the evenings or on the weekends (i.e., outside of work) as this was set aside for family time. At the time she contacted me Joan also indicated that her exercise had lapsed for a week due to the illness of her two sons for whom she had taken two days off of work to stay home and care for. As a result, her work responsibilities had fallen behind and thus lunch hours within the first week of the study were being utilized as "catch-up time" on work rather than exercise.

Joan planned to exercise with her friend and co-worker, Ray. Ray was 35 years of age and was also married with two sons, aged two and four. Joan and Ray shared a history as exercise partners in the workplace. During her previous regular exercise program (i.e., from January 1995 to February 1996) and other failed attempts at regular exercise, Ray had been Joan's exercise partner. Similar to Joan, Ray also had a sporadic and varied history when it came to exercise and physical activity participation, typically only performing exercise bouts when (and if) Joan asked him to do so.

In the first two weeks of her running program, Joan had not involved Ray. However, at our initial meeting she indicated that they would be exercise partners for the duration of the study. For Ray, this would also be the first time in several years that he attempted to incorporate a regular exercise program into his lifestyle. While they did not explicitly set out the days and times they were to exercise each week, it was understood between Joan and Ray that exercise bouts would take place during their lunchtime. Additionally, on the days they were to exercise, the plan was for Ray to come by Joan's office and get her, as her office was on-route to the workplace exercise facility. If one of them could not make it, one was to telephone the other and indicate this.

A Typical Day...

To further set the context of what is to follow, a typical day for Joan will next be presented. This is important because it allows us to see what Joan's current life situation is like and how her behavior on a daily basis has become taken-for-granted by Joan and her significant others (i.e., Joe and Ray), and has hence become a "typical" pattern. This, in part, not only made Joan's exercise behavior throughout the study sporadic at best, but also begins to set the context for why integrating a regular pattern of exercise into that current life situation was not an easy task for Joan.

During the study, a typical day for Joan consisted of getting up in the morning at 7:00 am in order to get ready for work. Since Joe would already have left for work, she would then get both children up, bathe them, feed them, and then drop each child off, one at her mother's and the other at her mother-in-law's. She would usually arrive at work between 8:30 and 9:00 am, working until 1:00 p.m., and then Ray would come by her desk to pick her up for their exercise session. Joan and Ray would exercise until 1:30 p.m. and Joan would be back at her desk working by 2 p.m., eating her lunch while she worked. If she did not finish all of her work or if she felt that she was falling behind in her work, she would sometimes forego the exercise session. This was often the case, and in addition to this, there were also times when Joan would forgo an exercise session because she was too tired from being up late trying to get her children to sleep the night before. When this happened Ray did not question it, usually foregoing the exercise himself, returning to his own office to keep working. If Joan did not forego the exercise session, then she would stay at work until 6:00 p.m. in order to make up what she felt was lost work time.

On these occasions when Joan stayed later at work because she had exercised, she would leave work at 6:00 p.m. and pick up each child, arriving home at 7:00 p.m. She would then prepare dinner for Joe and the children, and after dinner she and Joe would spend time playing and interacting with the children. At about 9 p.m. Joan would bathe the children and get them ready for bed while Joe watched television or worked. Because both her mother and mother-in-law often let the boys sleep late in the afternoon, Joan would then struggle to get the children to sleep. By the time the children went to sleep it was usually 11:00 p.m. and Joan would then go to bed at 11:30 p.m. However, Joan usually did not get to sleep until about one o'clock in the morning as David would usually not go to sleep after she put him down; thus she would get up to comfort him and try to get him back to sleep. This sleeping schedule coupled with Joan's work schedule and other family duties often left her feeling tired and overwhelmed as she tried to integrate exercise into her life.

Over the twelve weeks that Joan recorded her exercise behavior and for four weeks following this, what Joan found was that, given her "typical day", after three initial weeks of successful adherence to her exercise regime (i.e., she reached her own exercise goal of three times per week for twenty minutes per session), she had difficulty adhering to this regime for the remaining weeks of the study. Thus, despite wanting to exercise on a regular basis, a situation had come into being for Joan that made it difficult for her to integrate a program of regular exercise into her life. That situation, in brief, was that Joan was primarily responsible for caring for her children, with her husband helping out a minimal amount with these duties. At the same time Joan also worked full time, trying to perform her work duties in addition to her family duties. In turn, after Joan performed her shift at work she would perform a "second shift" of work at home. Joan therefore did not have the time to exercise and when and if she did have the time to exercise she was often too tired.

Joan did not question her situation or attempt to renegotiate it in a way that might have been more conducive to her exercise behavior. Instead, Joan accepted her situation and continued to view and experience her exercise as an "add on" that was simply not an option on most days given her current responsibilities as a working mother. However, Joan's situation and her reasons for lack of exercise behavior were far more complex than this. The next two chapters will employ discourse analysis to better understand how and why this situation was so complex as well as how that situation came into being and why Joan did not try to change it or renegotiate it so that she could exercise regularly.

CHAPTER V

Results Part One

In order to understand Joan's situation and how and why this was linked to her lack of exercise adherence, I begin by exploring the question "why does Joan want to exercise?" In order to answer this question, it is first necessary to outline the particular set of discourses that Joan and her significant others (i.e., Joe and Ray) drew upon when making sense of why Joan wanted to exercise. This is important because, in trying to justify and understand why Joan was incorporating a regular program of exercise into her life, Joan, Joe and Ray drew upon a particular set of discourses. In turn, Joan's identity was in part a product of particular conversations that she and others had about why she was exercising within those particular set of discourses. Given that each of these discourses has a central tenet as to how people think, feel, and behave, this meant that in drawing upon three discourses as opposed to others to make sense of Joan's exercise behavior, particular experiences and practices were encouraged and negotiated by Joan and her significant others. These experiences and practices had important implications for Joan's ability to incorporate exercise into her life in the present study because they tended to encourage sedentary as opposed to exercise behavior, making it difficult for Joan to maintain a regime of regular exercise.

In the course of this discourse analysis, while it was theoretically possible to identify numerous discourses within which reasons for Joan's exercise were framed, the discussion has been limited to three. These discourses are not actual entities, but rather they are regarded as useful tools that help in the organization and understanding of the narrative accounts. Additionally, these discourses are not presented and discussed in order of their appearance in the narratives, nor because one is more important than another.

Table 1 provides a summary of the key features of the three discourses within which Joan's reasons for exercise were framed by herself and her significant others.

Table 1

Key features of three discourses for reasons to exercise

Discourse	Key Features
Discourse of the body	- meanings tied to sex, race, shape, age, how clothed & interactions - provides an obvious signifier of identity - mechanistic metaphor & pursuit of "body beautiful" (body can be molded and changed) - constructs "exerciser" = body moves with ease & grace, looks a certain way, strength in muscles experienced - notions about the body (re) produced by social practices (e.g., dietary & exercise) & institutions (e.g., practices of health & fitness industry, the media) - infused with gender relations; constructs 'masculinity' & 'femininity'
Discourse of Exercise & Physical Appearance	- constructs a normal, healthy & fit body as slim, small, supple, toned & sculpted - bodies with the "look" move with agility, grace & ease - constructs abnormal, unhealthy & unfit body as larger, fat, overweight & lacking muscle tone - bodies without the "look" move slowly & lack stamina & energy - terms identified with body: "feeling fat", "overweight", "size 7", "size 12", "toned", "flabby", "in-shape"
Discourse of Exercise & Physiology	- legitimates & constructs normal, healthy, fit & feminine body - relies on commons sense for what exercise can & should do

- constructs objects that relate to physical functioning (e.g., 'lean muscle mass', 'body fat', 'heart rate', 'pain', being 'tired' or 'sore')
- particular exercise prescriptions lead to outcomes (e.g., weight loss, gain lean muscle)
- constructs & constricts what constitutes "exercise" & an "exerciser"

The three discourses will now be outlined more in-depth in terms of the ways of thinking, speaking, and the practices that they encourage. Following this, specific accounts from Joan and her significant others will be framed in terms of these discourses and discussed with respect to how Joan and her significant others drew upon them when making sense of why Joan wanted to exercise with particular effects (i.e., practices) resulting.

Discourse of the Body

The discourse of the body ties particular meanings to the body's sex, race, shape, age, the way it is clothed and adorned, and the manner in which it interacts with others (Henriques et al., 1984). In short, it is in and through our participation and immersion in the discourses of the body (amongst others that will be discussed shortly) that we learn about what our bodies "are" and of what they are capable. The foregoing makes the 'body' a discursive object (re) produced at the intersection of a variety of discourses, which in turn makes the 'body' an obvious signifier of identity within western culture, providing important visible information about people.

For example, within western culture there are particular statements and notions that relate to how female bodies should move (e.g., with ease and grace) in social space. These statements converge into discourses that convey the meaning of a particular appearance and shape that is desirable for women (e.g., slim, supple, and toned). Furthermore, the kinds of practices promoted for optimal physical and psychological functioning of the body such as sleeping (e.g., eight hours per night), eating (e.g., three meals a day consisting of particular foods to yield a particular caloric intake), exercising (e.g., three times per week, twenty minutes per session), and interacting with others (e.g., how much time we should spend with our family, how often we should have sexual intercourse) are also important aspects of this discourse. Taken together, these form a discourse of the body the likes of which construct and constrain what the normal body "is" and should be.

Recently, some scholars have suggested that the constructions of what the body "is" are predicated upon a mechanistic or mechanical metaphor and the pursuit of the 'body beautiful' (e.g., Bordo, 1990; Lloyd, 1996; Sparkes, 1997). These ideas are held firmly in place by an allegiance to scientific constructions and discourses (e.g., medical science) that reinforce and reify mechanistic and material constructions of the body. What this means is that the body is taken to be plastic, moldable, and selectable depending on one's needs, desires, and whims. This makes the idea of what the body "is" a work-in-progress or an ongoing-project in which appearance, size, and shape can be reconstructed, designed, and controlled by its owner. In turn, people are often highly conscious of, and actively concerned with, the management, maintenance, and appearance of their bodies (Giddens, 1991; Shilling, 1993; Sparkes, 1997).

This also makes people's bodies personal resources and social symbols they can utilize and draw upon to construct their own personal identities and the identities of others. Stated differently, there are a number of images available for use in discourse, surrounding what the body "is", how it should look, what it can do, and how it should feel depending on the context. For example, in the context of performing exercise and physical activity, in order for a woman to be considered an "exerciser" the body will have to move with ease and grace, feel and experience strength in the muscles, and look a certain way. These notions in turn are held in place by social practices (e.g., dietary and exercise practices) and institutions (e.g., the discourse of exercise, the practices within the exercise and fitness industry, the media).

A discourse of the body is also infused with gender relations in that the idea of what constitutes masculinity and femininity is not viewed as being inherent within nor to the body, but rather, is constructed within discourse and social practices as having particular characteristics. In brief, this means that we learn early on what men and women are supposed to be (e.g., how they should look, move, and behave). The way we learn this is through our immersion and participation in discourses of the body which further feed into discourses of femininity and masculinity. Together these notions shed light on why notions about men and women, particularly those connected to their bodies are so enduring and resistant to change. For example, for women, bodies that are either more powerful looking (e.g., muscular) or abundant looking (e.g., heavier or larger) tend to be regarded as less feminine. Moreover, bodies that look like this go against what "is" feminine and are therefore abhorred and constructed as undesirable.

Discourse of Exercise and Physical Appearance

Women who want to become "exercisers" will not only draw upon a discourse of the body, but also upon a discourse of exercise and physical appearance to make sense of their experiences. While most obviously exercise involves actual physical movements of the body in social space, within western culture, exercise is currently touted as an important and necessary practice for attaining a healthy and fit body. Moreover, women draw upon these discourses to make sense of why they exercise and their exercise experiences because what constitutes health and fitness tends to be promoted in terms of the pursuit and attainment of a particular physical "look"(Bartky, 1988; Bordo, 1990; Lloyd, 1996).

Thus, the discourse of exercise and physical appearance constructs a normal healthy and fit body for women as one that is small, slim, and supple with toned and sculpted musculature. Bodies that look this way are also promoted as being able to move with agility, grace, and ease in social space. Women achieving this "look" are also viewed as possessing particular attributes such as being highly 'disciplined', 'committed', 'motivated', 'energetic', and 'strong'. Together, these notions constitute the normal, healthy, fit, and desirable female form which above all is a feminine body that is slender and can (and should) be attained by woman via the practice of exercise (Lloyd, 1996).

Conversely, this discourse also constructs an abnormal and unfit and unhealthy body for women as being larger, fat, overweight, and lacking in muscle tone. Bodies that look this way are promoted as not being able move with agility, ease or grace. Rather, bodies that look this way are thought to move slowly because they lack stamina and energy. Thus, women who do not achieve the "look" (and implicitly the characteristics associated) of the fit and healthy body when it comes to their body and exercise would be constructed as abnormal, unhealthy, unfit, and lacking control and discipline when it comes to their bodies. They would also be more likely to experience distress and anxiety about their bodies. They might even conclude that their exercise regime is not working and not leading to health and fitness benefits because they have not attained the "look" (i.e., body) that the practice of exercise promises.

What all this implies is that, when drawing upon the discourse of exercise and physical appearance there are particular images, characteristics, and terms women come to identify with themselves when it comes to their appearance in relation to the practice of exercise and/or lack of exercise. For example, terms that relate to the image of the unfit female who does not exercise, or does exercise but does not have the "look" might include "feeling fat", "out of shape", "overweight", "flabby", and "be a size 12". This image would be constructed in relation to what constitutes the image of a normal fit and healthy body such as "thin", "toned", "in shape", and "be a size 7". If one is exercising and attaining the image of the fit and healthy female, one would be more likely to conclude that one's exercise regime is a success. Particular practices might then be encouraged such as more or excessive exercise in order to maintain or enhance that image/look, eating whatever one wants because that image of the fit female has been attained, or restricting one's food intake to maintain that image when and if an exercise session were missed. Conversely, if one is exercising and not attaining that image of the fit and healthy female, then one would be more likely to experience and conclude that one's exercise regime is a failure. Not attaining the normal fit female body might also lead to particular practices such as restricting one's diet, exercising excessively, or giving up exercise because the conclusion is that the exercise is not working and delivering health and fitness benefits (i.e., weight loss and a toned appearance).

Discourse of Exercise and Physiology

A related discourse to the foregoing two discourses, and a powerful means of legitimating and constructing what the normal fit healthy and feminine body "is" and "is not" is the discourse of exercise and physiology. This discourse relies on science and common sense to tell us what exercise can and should do for people, particularly when it comes to their physical appearance and how they should feel physically and mentally. The discourse of exercise and physiology also has its roots in the natural sciences (e.g., physics, medicine, and biology). Thus, this discourse constructs objects that not only relate to the physical functioning of humans, but it relies heavily on the scientific method and objective and systematic observation to "discover", explicate, and prove that functioning. It is important to note that this is not to say that people do not have physiological responses within their bodies and that there is no physical world and therefore "everything is discourse". Rather, it is to say that it is in and through our immersion and participation within particular discourses that we can make sense of the physiological functioning of the body, tie particular meanings to that functioning, and the various outcomes related.

For example, objects and/or concepts constructed within this discourse in relation to exercise and physical activity behavior will be things like 'lean muscle mass', 'body fat', 'heart rate', 'pain', 'muscle fatigue', feeling 'tired' or 'sore', or being 'injured' or 'stressed'. When drawing upon a discourse of the body and/or the discourse of exercise and physical appearance, people will be able to conclude that they are or are not these things because their meanings are gained in part within a discourse of exercise and physiology. Thus, we "know" what our heart rate "is" when exercising because the discourse of exercise and physiology constructs what a 'heart' is (e.g., a pump that keeps us alive and circulates blood throughout our bodies) and what heart rate means. As well, we can systematically come to know this by counting the number of heartbeats per minute, and this is a fact or a common sense notion about our bodies; everybody has a heart and a heart rate or we would be dead. Moreover, when we exercise, that heart rate will increase with particular outcomes and effects resulting (e.g., cardiovascular benefits and weight loss due to increased caloric expenditure).

Additionally, notions that particular prescriptions of exercise can lead to particular physical outcomes when it comes to the body's appearance due to physiological responses are important aspects of this discourse. Examples of this include getting the heart rate into a certain range for a particular duration of time in order to burn fat and lose weight and lifting a certain amount of weight a particular number of times to achieve a particular "look". Another example of this would be the knowledge that cardiovascular exercise (e.g., running) performed for 20 minutes per session three times per week would lead to gaining increased energy and stamina due to the heart becoming stronger and one losing body fat and gaining lean muscle mass. In turn these physiological outcomes of regular exercise such as weight loss and increased energy would be linked to the notion that one "is" healthy and fit (i.e., exercise leads to weight loss and weight loss constitutes health and fitness). And finally, the notion that regular exercise can lead to a reduction in stress is another outcome that is legitimated within this discourse in light of the biological processes involved in exercise and hence alleviating the 'stress response' (e.g., increased heart rate, sweaty palms, the release of adrenaline).

Together, these notions have the simultaneous effect of constructing yet constricting people's notions of what constitutes "exercise" and an "exerciser", confining people to thinking what physical movement must be in order to be considered exercise in the first place. In turn, people drawing upon these discourses may conclude that exercise *must* consist of these particular practices (e.g., running at a particular frequency and intensity) and with these particular outcomes (e.g., weight loss and the attainment of a lean and toned appearance, being able to eat whatever one wants without gaining weight) resulting. As well, in drawing upon these discourses, one might also conclude that if one engages in other physical activity practices (e.g., walking at a slow pace) and attains other outcomes (e.g., a weight gain or no weight change), then one is not "exercising" and thus one is not a healthy and fit "exerciser".

Joan's View of Why She Exercise

In this section, I will illustrate that in making sense of why she wanted to begin an exercise program, why she wanted to continue her exercise program, and what exercise was and could do for her, Joan drew upon the foregoing discourses. Together these discourses intersect to construct a particular version of a healthy and fit woman that is identifiable via a particular appearance and particular attributes. As well, this version of a healthy and fit woman is also viewed within these discourses as being attainable via the practice of exercise as opposed to a particular version of an unfit and unhealthy woman who does not exercise. Thus, as will soon be apparent, by drawing upon these discourses, Joan's conversations/accounts about why she wanted to exercise tended to contain particular words and phrases that related to attaining an image of a healthy fit woman which emerged as having a particular "look" (e.g., thin, toned, a particular weight and size) and particular attributes (e.g., energetic, stamina, and strength). As well, these conversations/accounts about why she was exercising in which the fit female form was constructed were also used by Joan to make sense of how her current post-pregnancy body looked and performed. Joan's current post-pregnancy body was also constructed via Joan's reasons to exercise and was thus employed by Joan as a reason to exercise because that body was viewed as being unhealthy and unfit. This was not only because she did not exercise and was therefore currently a particular weight and size that was not approaching the version of the fit female form perpetuated by these discourses, but by not approaching that version of the fit female form, her body was also constructed and experienced by Joan as lacking the particular attributes of the fit female form (e.g., strength, energy, and stamina). Given this, Joan's reasons for exercise emerged as being primarily related to losing weight and looking a certain way in order to become a stronger, more energetic, fit, and healthy woman.

In order to illustrate the foregoing, it is useful to first explore Joan's past reasons for exercising and the discourses within which these were framed. This had implications for the words, terms, and phrases used in Joan's construction of her current post-pregnancy body as well as having implications for the words, terms, and phrases used in the construction of the fit female body she hoped to have. Ultimately, all of this had implications for Joan's experiences in relation to exercise and her body as well as her behavioral practices (e.g., exercise, lack of exercise, and eating behavior) in the present study.

For example, historically, when Joan had taken up an exercise regime on two separate occasions, she had taken up an exercise prescription (e.g., running, three times per week, for twenty minutes per session) similar to the one she had undertaken in the current study. Her reasons or accounts for why she was doing so tended to centre upon losing weight or reaching particular weight loss goals (e.g., weighing 115 pounds) in an effort to attain a particular look and be a particular size (e.g., size seven). On the first occasion, she was exercising to lose weight for her upcoming wedding, and on the second occasion she was exercising after the birth of her first child so that she might regain the body and clothing size that she had prior to her pregnancy and in turn have more energy to take better care of her child. On both occasions, Joan had eventually given up her exercise program. In the first instance, she indicated that she had given it up because once the wedding had come and gone she felt that she no longer needed to exercise. In the second instance, she indicated that she had found it difficult to exercise given her schedule of work and childcare and as well she found out that she was pregnant again and eventually found it too difficult to perform the required movements of her exercise prescription.

If we frame the above in the context of the discourses that Joan drew upon to make sense of her exercise behavior, what we see is that historically she has drawn upon a discourse of exercise and physiology which relies on science to tell her what exercise can and should do for her, particularly when it comes to her physical appearance. Thus, in the past Joan has constructed her "exercise behavior" and what that should be (e.g., a particular exercise prescription) as well as what that would do for her (e.g., lead to weight loss and achievement of a particular look) in a particular way. This means that she has excluded and/or not engaged in other forms of exercise (e.g., walking at a lower intensity) in the past. Additionally, in employing reasons for her exercise such as "losing weight" to look a certain way and "be a size seven", Joan's specific accounts in the past were also framed within the discourses of the body and the discourse of exercise and physical appearance. This is because these discourses construct a particular body shape and size for women that is feminine, and therefore more desirable for women, and this body size and shape is also perpetuated as being normal and attainable via the practice of exercise. What all this implies is that, when drawing upon the discourses of the body, the discourse of exercise and physical appearance, and the discourse of exercise and physiology, Joan was predisposed to employ particular images (e.g., the fit female form), characteristics (e.g., a size seven, lacking strength and stamina), and terms (e.g., overweight) to identify herself when it came to her appearance in relation to the practice of exercise.

Given that Joan drew upon these discourses in the past when making sense of her exercise, Joan was therefore more likely to continue to draw upon these particular discourses when accounting for why she was exercising in the present study. In other words, her past conversations with and about herself when it came to exercise, and more specifically the kinds of outcomes she expected from exercise, had become taken-for-granted and therefore habitualized. This in turn set the stage for how Joan thought, felt, and behaved when it came to her exercise program in the current study. To illustrate, consider the following passage taken from our initial interview during which Joan provided several reasons for wanting to begin an exercise program:

> Interviewer: So what are some reasons why you want to start a regular program of exercise?
>
> Joan: Um, since I was pregnant and (pause). But I was thinking that um after having my child and that I was, I've gotten down to after breastfeeding and stuff like that, I've gotten down to a size (pause) and then I thought, "Oh when I fit back down into my clothes". So that was one of the initial reasons, I want to fit back into my clothes because I don't wanna suddenly be buying all these size 11

> and 12s and a whole new wardrobe. So that was one of the initial reasons, and then later on I (pause) I guess I always kind of thought, "Oh I gotta start losing weight, I gotta start losing weight". (…). So part of it is that I do want to lose weight, I wanna be healthy. I wanna lose weight and be strong and healthy. And so I think that's to me the major impetus for doing this (pause) and then of course other factors are I wanna have energy to play with my kids because I am so tired after work and I can't even get up and chase them around the house!

This quote illustrates that from the outset of the current study Joan indicated that she was again taking up a running program, a minimum of three times per week, for twenty minutes per session in the hopes that she would lose weight and attain a particular look (e.g., lean and toned, and be a size seven) via this exercise regime. Joan also indicated that she had set this stringent exercise prescription so that she might become "stronger" and gain more "stamina", and in turn, have "more energy" at work and at home and "be less tired" overall. She also indicated that she hoped that in exercising regularly (and in the process losing weight and being healthier) that she would have the freedom to eat whatever she wanted (e.g., higher fat foods such as Kentucky fried chicken and cake), whenever she wanted (e.g., special occasions) because she enjoyed eating food. And as the discourse of exercise and physiology that she drew upon suggests, she believed that adhering to a regular exercise prescription such as the one she had chosen would allow her to do so and still attain the fit and healthy body she wanted.

If the above reasons and the discourses within which they are framed are more explicitly examined in the above passage, what we see is that Joan made sense of why she wanted to exercise by drawing upon a discourse of the body, a discourse of exercise and physical appearance, and a discourse of exercise and physiology. We know that Joan is drawing upon these discourses to make sense of why she wanted to exercise and what exercise would do for her because the central tenets of these discourses relate to the fact that a particular exercise prescription leads to weight loss, which in turn leads to a particular appearance/look (which implies particular attributes such as health, strength and stamina) that is desirable for women. As well, these discourses also suggest that women who don't exercise (in this case Joan) also look a certain way (e.g., have more body fat) and probably need to lose weight via the practice of exercise. Thus, within this extract, Joan worked up an identity tied to her post-pregnancy body via her use of specific terms and phrases that related to her current body (e.g., "size 11/12", "losing weight", "weak", "tired", "lacking strength and stamina") and also how her body used to look in the past (e.g., could fit into clothes of a smaller size than that of a size 11/12). An important effect of drawing upon these discourses and using these particular words and phrases to construct her body was that this post-pregnancy was then experienced by Joan as being deficient in some way because of how it looked (overweight and a size 12), the likes of which meant it could not do certain things (e.g., play with her children without getting tired). This post-pregnancy body was also constructed in relation to the image of the normal, and hence more desirable, fit female form that Joan constructed by drawing upon these discourses via Joan's use of specific terms such as "thin", "strong", "healthy", and "having energy and stamina".

In turn, both of the foregoing identities that Joan constructed via her conversations and use of specific words and phrases within them by drawing upon a discourse of the body and the discourse of exercise and physical appearance were legitimated and reified by the discourse of exercise and physiology that she also drew upon. This was because this discourse constructs and ties particular meanings to various objects such as "weight loss", "energy", and "stamina". In short, this discourse legitimated Joan's reasons and accounts for why she was exercising (and implicitly the identities connected) via the objects it constructed via its allegiance to what science tells us exercise can do for us (e.g., running will lead to weight loss, and being thin means one is fit and therefore is healthy, strong, and therefore energetic). Thus, Joan tended to employ particular terms and phrases that related to a particular appearance when it came to her body as reasons to exercise. And as these discourses she drew upon suggest, one particular appearance was less desirable (her current appearance) and the other was more desirable (her past appearance and what she hoped to look like in the future), and in her view the more desirable appearance is attainable via the practice of exercise.

An important effect of the foregoing was that when Joan adhered to her exercise program and it delivered these appearance-related outcomes or approached delivering these outcomes, Joan storied her exercise program as a success and experienced happiness about her body in relation to her exercise program by continuing to draw upon these discourses. For example, when Joan adhered to her exercise regime within the first four weeks of the study, she was able to avoid guilt and worry in relation to her food intake and eating behavior. This was accomplished through the discourses that she continued to draw upon to make sense of why she was exercising, and implicitly the reasons she continued to employ for her exercise (i.e., attain the image of the fit female form). In this way, her exercise behavior was storied as a success and was desirable because she was approaching that image of the fit female form the likes of which emerged as being "115 pounds", "toned", "energetic", and "strong". This also meant that the outcomes Joan expected from her exercise regime (i.e., her reasons for exercising), particularly weight loss, were in part being realized, and thus her reasons for exercising as well as her understandings of what exercise was and could do for her were legitimated and reinforced by Joan's own exercise behavior. Moreover, this also meant that Joan employed the image of the fit female form as a facilitator of her exercise behavior, and also as a facilitator of her eating behavior.

A more specific example of the foregoing comes from a story Joan told during our second interview about a conference she had attended one weekend. This story centered upon how she had been successfully adhering to her running regime for four weeks prior and through the discourses she drew upon to make sense of that, she concluded that she could eat whatever she wanted without gaining weight and without experiencing worry, guilt or shame:

> Joan: The thing I realized is a motivating factor for doing what I'm doing is that I realized this at the conference is that I love to eat (laughs). And I like to eat lots of foods, I like to try different foods and I like to eat like fatty foods in the sense of (laughs) like I love to eat sour cream and butter (laughs). So when I'm not exercising I'm more diet conscious because I think well I'm not exercising so at least then I try not to eat so much calories, I'm a little more conscious, conscious of it. But now that I'm exercising I'm like, "oh I don't care, I'm exercising". Because I've been feeling like I've been feeling that I am losing weight, but I am feeling like waistline- wise anyway. On the scale I'm still heavy so but (pause) but I know there's muscle gain too and stuff. But I've noticed in my waistline I

> am losing. And yet since I've started running I have not (pause) not been thinking about my food or restricting my food in any way? I just eat whatever I wanna eat not worry about it, and so I thought, "this is great!" cause I can eat whatever I wanna eat and never worry about it and I'm still losing weight cause I'm running....

The above passage illustrates that by continuing to make sense of her exercise regime within the three discourses discussed within this section, and hence still working up reasons for her exercise regime tied to weight loss and attaining the fit female form, Joan was predisposed to use particular terms and phrases in her conversations with me about herself in relation to her exercise that related to her post-pregnancy body. As such, she continued to work up her identity tied to her post-pregnancy body via the reason she employed to exercise, but because she had been exercising, she also concluded and experienced that she was now approaching the fit female form (e.g., "feeling that I am losing weight", "on the scale I'm still heavy...but I've noticed in my waistline I am losing"). Approaching the fit female form via her practice of exercise had also predisposed Joan to experience her program as a success and also to conclude that she could eat whatever she wanted without experiencing guilt (e.g., "since I've started running I have not been thinking about my food or restricting my food in any way. I just eat whatever I want and not worry about it"). Viewed in this way, Joan's use of the image of the fit female form also structured how she felt about her body in relation to her exercise and eating behavior. The use and construction of the fit female form also structured her exercise and eating behavior (i.e., Joan was exercising which meant that she was attaining the fit female form, which meant she could eat whatever she wanted).

Conversely, when her program did not deliver the outcomes she hoped for, as result of continuing to make sense of why she was exercising and what her exercise was and could do for her within these same discourses, she was predisposed to story her exercise program and herself and her body, as a failure and falling short of the attributes of the fit female form. Despite the aforementioned positive experiences in relation to her body and exercise, in light of Joan continuing to work up her reasons within these discourses as wanting to lose weight and attain the fit female form, the aforementioned positive experiences in relation to her body and exercise regime were few and far between. More often, Joan's reasons for continuing with her exercise program tended to predispose her to experience distress, guilt, and discouragement in relation to her body and exercise and what she ate because the fit female body was not being attained.

An example of this comes from our third interview. During this interview, Joan discussed how she felt about not attaining the desired outcomes (e.g., weight loss and being thin) from her exercise program, despite having adhered to that program:

> Joan: One of the advantages of exercising is losing weight (pause) and I just feel (pause) but one of the disadvantages, one of the downsides of exercising is not seeing you lose the weight. Sometimes you know, when you set up goals, you wanna look thin right? When you wanna get down to a certain weight and you go, "oh yeah I'm working out, I'm exercising, I'm working out, I'm exercising". But you're not losing or you've lost a little bit of pounds or whatever but you haven't lost as much as you've wanted to and you're like, "it's taking so long" that can be discouraging.

Thus, in the above extract we see that Joan spoke from the socially constructed position of a woman whose current post-pregnancy body did not measure up to the image of the fit female form the discourses she continued to draw upon to make sense of her exercise behavior construct. In turn, despite the fact that she was adhering to her exercise program, she storied her exercise experiences not as successes, but as ones of failure and frustration in relation to her current post-pregnancy body.

Additionally, when Joan did not adhere to her exercise regime (e.g., if she had missed entire weeks of exercise or if her exercise had been sporadic) by continuing to make sense of her exercise and why she was exercising within similar discourses, and hence still continuing to construct and employ the fit female form as reason to exercise, she experienced even more guilt and distress in relation to her body and lack of exercise. In this way, Joan continued to think, speak, feel and behave from the socially constructed position of a woman whose post-pregnancy body does not measure up within the discourses of the body and the discourse of exercise and physical appearance. What this meant was that Joan was again predisposed to experience guilt and shame in relation to her body because she had not exercised. In turn, this had a similar effect to that that was discussed earlier when Joan had concluded her program was a success; her eating behavior was structured in a particular way, only now this meant that she did not eat whatever she wanted, but rather she policed her food intake as punishment for missing exercise and in order to attain the fit female form.

A specific example of this comes when Joan had taken a vacation during the tenth week of the study and hence had not exercised since she had constructed her exercise to be running on a treadmill at work. In particular, Joan drew upon the discourse of the body, the discourses of exercise and physical appearance to tell a specific story about how she had over-indulged in certain foods and experienced guilt about it because she had not been exercising and was therefore not attaining the fit female form:

> Joan: So I went in and looked at the buffet and of course it's like bacon and (laughs) and eggs and hash browns and all that high cholesterol stuff and so (pause) All the good stuff! So I ate it and so I had a couple of helpings. So it's just where I go okay you know, if I do these things, if I want to continue to eat what I want then yeah, I need to exercise. Um (pause) you know I think actually maybe I'm subtly conscious of the food when I'm not exercising. (…). So then I guess I don't have any trouble with guilt feelings or anything if I'm exercising on a regular basis. Then I don't worry or I don't care that I can eat what I want. But if I (pause) like last week if I don't exercise then um (pause). Yeah I'm a little bit more pickier about my food because I don't want to end up gaining more weight.

In the telling of this story Joan implicitly used this image of the fit female form to construct her current post-pregnancy body as not measuring up because she had not exercised ("I'm a little bit more pickier about my food because I don't want to end up gaining more weight"). This fear of gaining weight also predisposed Joan to experience guilt and distress in relation to not having exercised and having overindulged at the buffet. This guilt, distress, and fear of not attaining the fit female form (e.g., she feared gaining weight) also had the effect of structuring her re-engagement of exercise behavior to two times per week for the following week upon returning home. Another important thing to note is that the aforementioned discourses within which this story was narrated again predisposed Joan to speak of exercise as leading to particular outcomes (i.e., weight loss, enjoying and eating as much food as she wanted without guilt and worry). Thus, by drawing upon the discourse of exercise and physical appearance and the discourse of the body, Joan was speaking from the socially constructed position of a woman whose current post-pregnancy body did not measure up. Because she had not been exercising regularly (and implicitly was not attaining the outcomes constructed by these discourses), there were particular behavioral and psychological effects/outcomes that resulted for Joan. These included restricting her diet, not being able to enjoy food, and feeling guilty and worrying about weight gain in light of the food she had eaten and the exercise she had not done.

All of these reasons that Joan employed for exercising (e.g., to lose weight to look a particular way which lead to gaining strength, energy and stamina, and to be able to eat whatever she wanted whenever she wanted) within the aforementioned three discourses ultimately fed into Joan wanting to attain the image of a fit female so that she would be able to be a better mother to her children. Thus, by virtue of drawing upon these particular discourses to make sense of her exercise, Joan also concluded that if she could attain this version of the fit female form via the practice of regular exercise (and hence gain attributes such as strength, stamina, and energy), then she would be able to play and interact more with her children. Thus, the reasons that Joan employed for exercising within the foregoing discourses also becomes linked to Joan's identity construction, and Joan's identity emerged primarily as that of a mother identified by what her body currently looked like (e.g., overweight and a size 11/12), the attributes it lacked (no energy, strength, or stamina), and what that body could not do (e.g., look after children without becoming tired). Tied to being a better mother to her children was the fact that in becoming a regular exerciser (and hence a fit female who looked a particular way and therefore had the attributes of energy, strength, and stamina), she would be able to take on more family-related duties or perform her current childcare duties better. In turn, this meant that Joan continued to think, feel, speak, and behave from the socially constructed position of a woman whose current post-pregnancy body did not measure up to the normal fit female body she constructed as having prior to pregnancy and hoped to have again in the future.

Stated differently, as a result of drawing upon these discourses, Joan's reasons for exercise were also used to construct her current post-pregnancy body. In this way, Joan's identity emerged as primarily that of a mother. Her post-pregnancy body became a very visible and tangible reminder that she had given birth to children and that her body lacked, and therefore needed to have, particular characteristics in order to be a good mother to those children. However, viewed in the context of Joan's emergent identity as that of a mother, gaining the attributes of the fit female form via the practice of exercise meant that she was also predisposed to speak of, and experience, her exercise program as a means to an end; exercising regularly was desirable only if it would lead to weight loss and the attainment of the fit female form and this would therefore lead to having more energy, which would allow her to be a better mother to her children. Additionally, this also meant that exercise was viewed and constructed by Joan as an option, but that her duties as a working mother were not optional. This then had implications for whether or not Joan exercised throughout the course of the study because when her work duties and family duties piled up or became more demanding and Joan could not longer fit her exercise in at work, this meant that exercise was dropped because it was viewed as being optional.

An example to illustrate this comes from our second interview, during which Joan discussed how she felt about her successful adherence to her exercise program in the previous four weeks:

> Joan: I noticed I have more energy for them, I do. I have more energy for them. I can play with them longer. And you know what? This has given me the confidence about my ability of what I can do because I realized I can run five kilometers. So sometimes when I'm with someone and I'm feeling tired I'm thinking, "naw, I can do this because I can run five kilometers" (laughs) you know what I mean? Cause when you're not working out you have no measure of how strong you are. You have no measure of how strong you are and so when you've gone walking with your kids or gone to the park with them for a half hour or an hour walk at the mall you feel like, "well I need some rest". But now I don't do that, now when I feel tired I don't think maybe I need some rest.

From this extract we see that Joan was predisposed to again speak of her exercise leading to particular outcomes (e.g., having more energy for her children, and therefore being able to play with them longer, feeling stronger and gaining more confidence which also leads to her doing more for her children). Given that Joan's accounts within this extract continued to center upon or relate to her attaining particular attributes of the fit female body via her exercise program (e.g., "have more energy", "strength", "not feeling tired"), we see that Joan continued to make sense of her exercise program within the three discourses outlined in this section. Only these accounts were also made in relation to the accounts she used to construct her post-pregnancy body in the past (e.g., "now when I feel tired I don't think maybe I need some rest") and also how she wanted her body to perform and feel in present and the future. Given that Joan had concluded that attaining these attributes had allowed her to spend time with her children without becoming "tired" in the present, Joan therefore also concluded that her exercise program was working and this was thus a facilitator of her exercise behavior. What is also evident from this extract is that in light of Joan experiencing that she was gaining these attributes of the fit female form via her exercise program and implicitly becoming a better mother to her children (e.g., "I have more energy for them. I can play with them longer"), she was also thinking, feeling, and behaving (i.e., exercising) from the socially constructed position of a woman whose post-pregnancy body now measured up because she was approaching the fit female form.

However, given that Joan experienced her exercise program as a means to an end in light of her identity emerging as primarily that of a mother, by virtue of continuing to draw upon these discourses to make sense of her exercise program, when Joan's work load increased and she had to work through her lunch hour (i.e., miss a scheduled exercise session), she ultimately gave up her exercise because exercising outside of work was out of the question due to that time being set aside for family time. In this way, because Joan wanted to exercise to attain the fit female form in order to be better mother to her children first and foremost, Joan's exercise program was viewed and constructed as an option. And given her workload, when she had worked over time at work and could not exercise there, ultimately she had to choose between family time and exercise time outside of work. Thus, she chose family and gave up her exercise because spending time with them was not an option.

Additionally, when Joan became injured as a result of her exercise program (which will be discussed more in-depth below), this also meant that exercising was no longer desirable because an injury as a result of exercise did not allow her to perform her childcare duties (i.e., Joan's exercise did not accomplish what she hoped it would). For the remaining eight weeks that Joan recorded her exercise, experiencing pain and injury both during exercise and after exercise served as a deterrent for Joan's exercise, particularly because it affected her ability to perform her childcare duties. For example, Joan noted in one of her narratives that as a result of being injured, she had altered how she did her daily activities concerning her children (e.g., picking them up, picking up toys) and other household duties (e.g., picking up laundry). In turn, this injury that Joan had incurred as a result of her exercise regime and the behaviors and experiences linked to it (e.g., limping around, feeling hurt and pain when picking up children) served as good reasons to avoid exercise (i.e., she cut back on her exercise frequency in order to heal her injured leg and back). Thus, Joan exercised only one time per week for the time period of June 5 to June 25, and for the week of June 12 to June 18, she did not exercise at all. This also had the dual effect of allowing Joan to preserve her identity as a mother who was the primary caregiver to her children via still allowing her to engage in her childcare practices.

What we find is that exercise was again constructed and experienced by Joan as an option that could not be added on because it led to injury which would not allow her to care for her children, and since caring for them ultimately fed into her reasons for exercise in the first place, if she could not do this, then exercise was out of the question. This is not to say that Joan was not injured and should have kept exercising. Rather, what this means is that because Joan wanted to exercise in order to attain the fit female form (in order to be a better mother to her children), because exercise was not allowing her to attain the fit female form and this was interfering with her ability to be a good mother, Joan's exercise became secondary or not as important:

> Joan: I would say that I've become very aware this past week-- I'm very cautious about injury because I've been feeling it and feeling it in places where in my mind are not good places to feel soreness and I thought, "oh don't get…" you know? Because even if you were to have a sprained ankle boy, when you have little kids running around that's a major hassle. And it's even worse if you have a backache and you try to be playing with your kids cause they're so short and it really you know, incapacitates you, makes you less mobile. So like on a day to day basis, yeah this week I was really aware of that. So I just decided, okay Thursday I'll take the day off cause I don't wanna be injured um…

Finally, in addition to the foregoing emergent identities constructed within particular discourses, there were other important effects of drawing upon these discourses that resulted for Joan that had implications for her exercise experiences and exercise participation. For example, by drawing upon the three discourses outlined in this section to continually make sense of her exercise (and implicitly constructing the foregoing identities), we also see that Joan came to particular understandings about what exercise was (e.g., a particular prescription of running three times per week for twenty minutes per session) and the kinds of outcomes exercise would deliver (e.g., weight loss and attaining a particular version of the female body or "look"). Given that Joan had indicated that she currently did engage in some less stringent physical activity when caring for her children on a daily basis and had not yet achieved the fit female form (i.e., she said that she was currently "overweight" , "a size twelve", and that her "clothes did not fit properly"), by drawing upon these discourses, Joan was therefore predisposed to conclude that her "exercise" regime would have to be a more intense (e.g., running to get her heart rate into a particular zone), frequent (e.g., three times per week), and more purposeful prescription (e.g., during her lunch hour at work) if it was to lead to weight loss (and implicitly the fit female form) and the other outcomes of energy, strength and stamina that she desired.

However, setting such a stringent prescription as a result of drawing up these discourses had the effect of Joan doing too much too soon and thus she became injured and ended up missing days of exercise (and therefore not adhering to her exercise regime) in order to recover from that injury. As mentioned, taking these days off due to injury were in part because Joan feared that she would become completely incapacitated and not be able to care for her children. However the fact was, as a result of limiting herself to a more stringent prescription of exercise by drawing upon a discourse of exercise and physiology, Joan was getting hurt and injured in her knee and in her back by the fourth week of her running regime. By continuing to draw upon a discourse of the body, the discourse of exercise and physical appearance, and the discourse of exercise and physiology, from this point onward, Joan often used injury-related words and terms to convey and make sense of her body and her experiences during her (albeit sporadic) exercise sessions. These included terms such as "muscles aching", "aching around the knees", "pounding the pavement", and "feeling a burning". The use of these words/concepts within these discourses to account for her exercise experiences had the effect of Joan experiencing her exercise as difficult and not enjoyable, and hence the behavioral outcome that resulted was a reduction of her exercise to one time per week, and eventually to her not exercising at all.

In addition to the foregoing outcome, another effect of continuing to draw upon these discourses was that Joan also experienced distress at not attaining the fit female form because of how her injured body moved and performed; i.e., she narrated her body as not moving at the required speed and intensity of normal and fit body, and therefore she concluded that she was "out of shape" and implicitly not attaining the fit female form, and that it was probably her own fault that she had become injured. However, despite experiencing these feelings of distress, she still employed the image of the fit female form tied to her past and future identities as a reason to continue or at least try to continue exercising. As a result, Joan's experience of her body as "injured", "hurt", "sore", and hence "out of shape" eventually also contributed toward her ceasing exercise altogether for four weeks, and also towards her exercising only one time per week when she did exercise. However, as already discussed, this ceasing and/or reduction of exercise continued to be accompanied by feelings of distress and feelings of inadequacy in relation to her three other body identities (i.e., the past pre-pregnancy fit female form, the present post-pregnancy unfit female form, and the hoped for fit female form).

Joe's View of Why Joan Exercises

Joan's husband Joe also drew upon the discourses of the body, a discourse of exercise and physical appearance, and a discourse of exercise and physiology when making sense of why Joan was beginning an exercise program and why she wanted to continue exercising. As a result, like Joan, Joe also spoke of particular reasons for why Joan was exercising that related to her attaining a particular version of the fit female form in light of the fact that her current post-pregnancy body did not have the attributes of the fit female form.

For example, the reasons that Joe was predisposed to speak of when drawing upon the foregoing discourses included that Joan wanted to lose weight and hence gain the attributes of "stamina", "fitness", and "energy" so that she could be more "energetic" and "less tired" from work and family duties. He also employed these reasons within these discourses to construct how Joan's body looked prior to having had children (i.e., pre-pregnancy body), and implicitly he constructed her pre-pregnancy body in the past as approaching that of the fit female form. He also employed these reasons to then construct an identity he had of Joan that was tied to her post-pregnancy as that of being out of shape and unfit after having had children. By drawing upon these discourses, Joe was also predisposed to conclude that Joan was exercising in order to lose weight and attain some version of the fit female form so that she would look better for him and hence be more desirable and attractive. In so doing, he continued to work up an identity of Joan that was tied to her unfit and out of shape post-pregnancy body. Ultimately, Joe used all of these reasons to suggest that Joan's primary reason for exercising was so that she would be able to take on more family and childcare duties without getting tired. In this way, Joe rendered Joan as primarily a mother. In so doing, he implicitly reinforced Joan's views of herself in relation to exercise (e.g., post-pregnancy body) and as well her understanding that exercise and attaining the fit female form would lead to Joan being a better mother. In the process, he also reinforced Joan's understanding that exercise was an option and a means to an end; i.e., he reinforced that family came first and foremost.

The following quote taken from our initial meeting when Joe was discussing Joan's reasons for exercise can be used, in part, to exemplify the foregoing:

> Joe: I think she might be doing it for me, knowing that um (pause) male-female thing. Just (pause) I don't know just the physical aspect of our relationship? I'm assuming this, I don't know for sure, but I have this feeling that um she sees herself as not being as physically attractive as she once was, and I think that's also the reason why she wants to drop the weight and get into training or whatever. And I mean like our kids – you need to know our kids – they don't have a set sleeping schedule. Like a lot of the time Joan's up till all hours of the night looking after the kids, so that and the fact she has fulltime job right now. She's just physically tired a lot of the time, and I think that for that reason she wants to become more physically active as well, so she has more stamina to take care of the kids. She probably really hasn't had a good night's sleep in a while (laughs) so I think this will probably be her way of just being able to cope with things by being in better physical condition. As well, I mean losing weight in the fact that she still has that post-pregnancy belly for instance and for that reason I think she wants to lose weight, so she can fit back into her clothes as well.

In drawing upon these particular discourses to make sense of Joan's exercise behavior and hence employing reasons for her exercise such as to lose weight in order to fit back into old clothes and look better for him and therefore enhance their sexual relationship, and gain more strength and stamina in order to take care of the children, like Joan, Joe was implicitly constructing a particular version of the fit female form in and through these accounts about why

Joan wanted to exercise. This version of the fit female form emerged as being "healthy", "fit" or at a particular "level of fitness", "fitting back into clothes" of a particular size, and able to take on family duties without getting tired. This version of the fit female form would ultimately be attainable via "losing weight" and was also constructed as being more "physically attractive" and therefore more sexually desirable. In turn, this version of the fit female form was used by Joe to construct Joan's post-pregnancy body as being "overweight", having a "post-pregnancy belly", "lacking in fitness, strength and stamina", and being "physically tired" because her body also lacked "sleep". All of these reasons that Joe employed for why he thought Joan was exercising were also made sense of and legitimated by virtue of him drawing upon a discourse of exercise and physiology.

An important effect of this was that, by employing this image of the fit female form to make sense of Joan's exercise and why she wanted to exercise within this extract, we see that Joe also rendered Joan as first and foremost mother who was not only identified by how her body looked, but also by what her body could do (e.g., look after children) and could not do (e.g., take on more childcare duties in addition to current work and family duties without becoming tired). Thus, Joe viewed Joan's becoming an exerciser as desirable for her (and implicitly for him) because it would allow her to attain particular attributes of the fit female form, which would make her a better/good mother. This also meant that, similar to Joan, by linking Joan's reasons to exercise to taking on more family duties and implicitly rendering her as first and foremost a mother, Joe also viewed Joan's exercise as an option and a means to an end for Joan. In turn, as the study progressed and Joan could not exercise due to becoming overloaded with work and family demands, Joe had inadvertently reinforced Joan's choice of exercising only at work in and through the reasons he constructed for Joan's exercise. This also meant that Joe provided little resistance when Joan gave up her exercise in order to care for the children and the family.

Joe frequently worked up this identity of Joan as mother that was constructed in relation to the fit female form and the post-pregnancy body within the discourses identified. In turn, in both our first and second interviews (i.e., at the beginning and at the end of the twelve weeks), Joe also tended to story Joan's exercise program and hence why she was exercising as a kind of panacea that would, by virtue of allowing her to attain the attributes of the fit female form, make her into a superwoman who could take on multiple duties without getting tired. In this way, Joe's narratives, by virtue of the discourses he continued to draw upon to make sense of Joan's exercise, centered upon how exercise (and implicitly the attainment of the fit female form) would not only make Joan a better mother, but also make her less overworked and stressed in her job, allow her to undertake new things (e.g., an MBA), and make their physical/sexual relationship better. The terms and words that Joe used to construct Joan's exercise program as a panacea and leading to the superwoman were linked to those used in the construction of the fit female form. These included exercise allowing her to gain "power" and "control" over her life (e.g., work and home duties), her not having to "worry", "feeling better", gaining "energy", becoming more "self-confident", and gaining a sense of "well-being" and a "positive attitude". In turn, this continues to exemplify how, Joe inadvertently, through his own use of language within these discourses, continued to reinforce Joan's understandings of what exercise was and could for her.

When he discussed how her lack of exercise had been affecting Joan and the family, he also continued to reinforce Joan's understanding that her exercise program was first and foremost in the service of the family and her becoming a superwoman, again providing little resistance to how Joan had also constructed her exercise in this regard. Specifically, during our second interview he told a story about how, because Joan hadn't been exercising, she had expressed feeling tired and had not wanted to deal with the kids and had taken them over to her parent's house one weekend. In the telling of this story, Joe works up particular understandings of what exercise can do for Joan similar to Joan's (i.e., exercise will provide her with more energy to do things with her family, but if she is not exercising then she will be tired). Drawing upon the same three discourses that Joan drew upon, the implication of this, he said, was that if she had exercised she might have had gained the attributes of more "energy", "stamina", and "patience" and thus might have been able to "deal with the kids better".

By virtue of framing and working up Joan's identity as primarily that of mother via his accounts of what he understood Joan's exercise would do for her in this way within these discourses, Joe's narratives had the simultaneous effect of constructing and reinforcing his own identities as the head of the family and as a husband and father. While this will be discussed more in-depth in the next results section, and in relation to other discourses as well, for the discussion at hand, it can simply be noted that, given how Joe viewed Joan's exercise and why she was exercising, he had a vested interest in Joan becoming an exerciser because it would make Joan better in her role as a mother and maintain peace and harmony within the family. If exercise would not make Joan a better mother or if it interfered with her duties as a mother, then an exercise program for Joan was not as desirable. Thus, Joe continued to reinforce Joan's exercise as an option that came after family or as a behavior that was only desirable because it would lead to the fit female form, thereby allowing her to take on more for the family.

It is also important to note that by drawing upon the patriarchal discourses outlined earlier in this section and coming to particular understandings as to what constituted exercise (i.e., what exercise "is") and what it could do for Joan, Joe was actually reinforcing Joan's understandings via his lack of resistance to Joan's own understandings (and implicitly her own construction of her post-pregnancy body and mother-identity) of what exercise was and would do for her. In so doing, Joe was also implicitly reinforcing some of the distress discussed earlier that Joan experienced in relation to her exercise and post-pregnancy body whether she had adhered to her exercise program or not. To illustrate, another excerpt from our initial interview can be explored during which Joe talked about how undertaking an exercise program would be good and desirable for Joan because it would lead to particular outcomes for her:

Interviewer: So what do you think are some possible reasons why Joan has begun an exercise program?

Joe: Why has she begun an exercise program? I think mainly to, to just increase her level of fitness at this point. She had a child last May and (pause) I don't know, looking after the kids she's been tired and I think one of the reasons that she wants to get back into an exercise program is to build up her stamina a little bit. Also I think that um (pause) prior to um---we actually have two young kids--- prior to that I think she was quite fit and thinner and I think she wants to get back to that level that I think she had prior to the pregnancies. Um (pause) after the first pregnancy about a year and a half ago she got pregnant again, so she wasn't even at that point where she was as fit as she was prior to the initial pregnancy. And I think we sort of decided at that point in time that we wouldn't have any more kids in the foreseeable future so I think now she basically wants to get back to that level of fitness prior to (pause) prior to the last three years basically. And well just um, personal commitment. I think that um while she is active with running after the kids, that really isn't a structured program so although you look after kids, I don't think you're really all that physically active. It's more or less just tending to their needs.

In the passage above, we see that Joe accounts and understanding of why Joan was exercising again tended to focus upon her becoming "fit" and gaining some "energy" and "stamina" so that she would no longer be "tired". Again, the discourse of exercise and physiology not only constructs and legitimates these objects "fit" and "thinner", but it also implies that being fit is related to being thin; if one is not fit then one is not thin. Similarly, the discourse of the body and the discourse of exercise and physical appearance within which Joe also makes this account of why Joan is exercising predisposes him to speak of Joan's pre-pregnancy that had a particular look as being fit and that her post-pregnancy which now has another look (e.g., has more body fat) is unfit.

Additionally, what this extract also illustrates is that, by drawing upon a discourse of exercise and physiology, Joe had similar understandings of what exercise "is" to those of Joan. This meant that exercise was viewed by Joe as having to be a particular stringent and purposeful exercise prescription if it was to be considered as exercise. In accounting for why Joan was beginning an exercise program, Joe said that Joan's less purposeful daily physical activity with her children "really isn't a structured program". Moreover, because the discourse of exercise and physiology and the discourse of exercise and physical activity that Joe drew upon tend to promote or have as their central tenets that exercise leads to particular outcomes such as fitness and stamina and looking a particular way, given that Joan currently did not meet those requirements as identified by her post-pregnancy body and what it could not do (e.g., she was "tired" from looking after children), Joe was predisposed to devalue Joan's current physical activity (e.g., "although you look after kids, I don't think you're really all that physically active"). Thus, an important outcome of Joe's drawing up these discourses to make sense of what exercise is was that he constructed what Joan did with her children as not being "real physical activity", and implicitly he devalued Joan's post-pregnancy body. This had the added effect of Joe viewing Joan as inactive and therefore needing to take up exercise, despite her daily physical activity with her children, because her current post-pregnancy was not approaching the fit female form because of such inactivity and lack of "real physical activity".

Together, Joe's understandings of what exercise was and could do for Joan reinforced and reified that the fit female form was attainable via the practice of a more stringent exercise prescription. Moreover, if we recall from the last segment in which Joan's own reasons for exercise were explored and the effects that this had, what we see is that such understandings ultimately predisposed Joan to experience distress in relation to her body and her exercise program. Given this, the foregoing extract also illustrates that Joe's understandings that were framed within similar discourses to those that Joan drew upon, may have contributed to Joan's understandings. This was because such understandings were neither refuted nor resisted by Joe but instead were inadvertently reinforced in and through his talk about what exercise was and could do for Joan.

Lest it be unclear, what is meant to be shown and suggested here is that, because these discourses also rely on science and what is natural when it comes to what the female body "is" and what exercise "is" for their legitimacy, while Joe had come to particular understandings as to what exercise was and should be for Joan as well as why she should do it (and implicitly continued to render her as mother whose post-pregnancy body did not measure up), he did so via the taken-for-granted accounts that he made. Thus, the foregoing extract and discussion surrounding it was not presented to accuse Joe of intentionally reinforcing Joan's understandings about exercise or to accuse him of intentionally reinforcing her experiences of distress and anxiety in relation to her post-pregnancy body and her exercise program. Rather, the intention is to show that by drawing upon particular discourses, Joe made sense of Joan's exercise and the outcomes connected in a particular way. In turn, this predisposed Joe to render Joan's post-pregnancy body in a particular way via his taken-for-granted accounts of what constituted the fit female form, and in so doing he was likely inadvertently contributing towards some of Joan's distress because his own understandings were similar to Joan's, and therefore he did not provide resistance or reasons for Joan to refute such definitions.

Ray's View of Why Joan Exercises

Joan's exercise partner, Ray, also played an important part in reinforcing Joan's reasons for exercise and implicitly constructing the post-pregnancy body that was connected to Joan's emergent identity as that of a mother. This occurred via the use and construction of a particular version of the fit female form, in and through his accounts. The main way in which Ray inadvertently reinforced Joan's reasons and understanding of exercise, and implicitly her mother-identity, was in and through his understandings of what exercise was and would do for her. He also did this through his similar understandings of what exercise would do for himself (e.g., he was exercising because he thought it would give him more energy to play with his own children and this would make him a better father). Like Joe and Joan, Ray accomplished this by drawing upon a discourse of the body, a discourse of exercise and physical appearance and a discourse of exercise and physiology when he made sense of why Joan was exercising. He often did this by making sense of why he too was exercising. And similar to Joe, Ray therefore reinforced Joan's understandings of what exercise could do for her and implicitly her own views of herself and her feelings (e.g., anxiety, and guilt) connected via his lack of resistance and by not questioning such understandings. Thus, again, lest it be unclear, when it is noted that Ray reinforced Joan's views of exercise and the identities connected via his accounts within these particular discourses, it was not that he was doing so through what he told me. Rather, it was through the fact that he drew upon similar discourses and in doing so, he did not breach any of the conventions of these discourses.

For example, when drawing upon the foregoing discourses, Ray's views of why Joan was exercising included that she wanted to "lose weight" to "get back in shape" and therefore be "less tired" in order to have more energy for her children. Implicitly, these reasons were then used to render Joan primarily as mother for whom exercise was an option; it was great that Joan would exercise because it give her more energy for her children; however if that exercise interfered with children and the family, then that exercise would have to be given up. Given these reasons, we can see that Ray had similar understandings to those of Joan and Joe of what exercise was (e.g., a particular prescription) and the kinds of outcomes that one (in this case Joan) can expect from an exercise program (e.g., being in shape and more energy, which would lead to health and fitness).

The following extract is taken from our first interview and it exemplifies the foregoing:

> Ray: Well, initially, and this was years ago, when we got going her main interests were just getting back in better shape. She was just recently engaged and she wanted to you know, not only look good for the wedding, but also be in good shape. And then we mainly worked out past the wedding and so on and so forth, and then she gave it up um (pause) um (pause) mainly due to her increased work schedule and now the fact that she has two kids. So she was doing a lot of that. So I think she's now at a point where she wants to get back into it to get in shape, regain those health and fitness benefits she had before.

> Interviewer: And what do you think about that?
>
> Ray: Well those are pretty good reasons. I mean I um (pause) it's interesting. We both have a shared experience in that we both have (pause) we're both raising two children with her family and my family. And you notice the same things, once the children came about is that uh (pause) you know something had to give because you're busy with these kids who don't follow rules and regulations or give you any time off to do this or the other thing or exercise. But you come to a point where the kids become manageable and the work becomes manageable as well (pause) and that's I mean a shame that the first thing that has to go is your fitness, but something has to give in those situations. So I think it's a good thing that she's getting back into it—to be more fit.

What we is see here is that Ray works up the fit female form via his use of particular attributes (e.g., "in-shape", "look good", "fit", "health") to construct Joan's current post-pregnancy body as currently lacking those attributes because she currently was not exercising, though she could gain them via the practice of regular exercise. The discourse of exercise and physiology that he also draws upon in making these accounts allows him to make sense of this or tie the meaning that exercising will lead to one "being in shape" and "looking good".

What is perhaps even more striking about this extract is that Ray viewed Joan's exercise as being an add-on or an option when compared to her duties as a mother (e.g., "then she gave it up, mainly due to her increased work schedule and now the fact that she has two kids"). In this way, Ray worked up an identity he had of Joan as first and foremost a mother; i.e., he rendered her as mother in and through these accounts that he made regarding her past exercise behavior and why she was again taking up exercise as a practice. Similar to Joan and Joe, he accepted that giving up one's exercise in lieu of working and caring for children were good reasons to not exercise (e.g., "something had to give because you're busy with these kids who don't follow rules and regulations or give you any time off to do this or the other thing or exercise"). Thus, he reinforced these understandings that Joan had where her exercise was concerned (i.e., that it was an option). Moreover, he did so by virtue of his own agreement that he would do the same (i.e., he did not provide any resistance) because he thought himself to be in a similar situation to Joan (e.g., "we both have a shared experience in that we're both raising two children") by virtue of drawing upon similar discourses to construct his own identity as a father. Thus, by not providing such resistance (because he concluded that he himself also viewed exercise as an option or an add-on after family responsibilities or as long as family responsibilities were manageable), he also reinforced Joan's understanding that family duties came first, work duties came second, and exercise came third. This then had implications for when Joan gave up an exercise session at work with him because, when her family duties and work duties became too much and she let Ray know that she would miss an exercise session, he did not question this. Again, this was because his understanding of exercise as an option was similar to Joan's in light of the discourses that he drew upon to account for hers as well as his own exercise behavior.

Another way that Ray worked up an identity he had of Joan as a mother was by constructing Joan's exercise as being a kind of panacea that would allow her to attain the attributes of the fit female form (e.g., "more confidence", "happiness") and therefore be able take on more duties tied to the family. This was similar to how Joan and Joe had viewed Joan's exercise, and given that he continued to draw upon similar discourses to them, this was not surprising. Thus, Ray used particular reasons for why he thought Joan was exercising (e.g., to "feel better", to "gain more confidence", to be "happier" and in a "better mood") to construct a particular version of the fit female form that was attainable via exercise, and in so doing he also rendered Joan primarily as a good mother who could do it all (i.e., a super woman) if she could attain the fit female form constructed by the discourses of the body, and the discourses of exercise and physical appearance. Like Joe, Ray also inadvertently worked up and reinforced an identity he had of himself as a husband and father in and through these accounts he gave of Joan's exercise. But in Ray's case his identity as a father was not as the head of the family, but was more in line with how Joan viewed herself and how he viewed Joan (e.g., an involved father).

Thus, similar to Joan, by drawing upon the discourse of exercise and physical appearance and the discourse of exercise and physiology, Ray indicated that he too was undertaking exercise so that he might attain a particular version of a fit male form (e.g., have more energy, be stronger) which would lead to allowing him to perform his own work and familial duties with less stress and more ease. In this way, Ray's understanding of what exercise was and could do for Joan was again not only linked to her being a mother and being able to take on more, but was in part worked up in and through his understanding of what exercise would do for himself. Moreover, he also continued to view Joan's exercise, though important, as an option or an add-on that was only desirable if she had time in addition to her work and family duties.

To illustrate this, a quote from our second interview taken during the twelfth week of Joan's exercise program is useful to explore:

> Ray: Well, Joan is always happier when she's working out, I've noticed that. I mean I don't think it's the working out necessarily that is the key. It's the fact that she has the time to work out, cause when she's not—like let's say when the work gets too much, when the kids get too demanding the first that goes for her is the working and uh (pause) That, that I know from personal experience, cause I do that too. However, when you find you have the time to work out um (pause) obviously everything kind of eased up a bit, the work loads down a bit (pause) the family situation is always going to be the same, but it's deal able, and so you find yourself in a better mood. So I mean I think that's the main outcome. I mean health is health, but I think the health benefits are just simply on the basis that you feel better when you workout. But you also feel better because you have the time to work out. So I think in the long run exercise will just make her a more content individual because of doing more for her family and having time.

This extract illustrates that Ray continued to work up particular understandings as to what the effects of exercise were within a discourse of exercise and physiology (e.g., "Joan is always happier when she works out", "the health benefits are simply on the basis of how you feel"). In turn, his understandings of what exercise was and would do again reinforced the notion that exercise would lead to attaining the attributes of the fit female form (e.g., "happiness", "better mood", "health", and "contentment"), which would allow Joan to manage her home and familial duties better. Thus, Ray continued to use this image of the fit female form to again render Joan as a mother. As well, this notion of being a better mother through her exercise reinforced the notion that exercise was a panacea and the answer to managing one's life. However, this notion also becomes somewhat contradicted when Ray continues to indicate that though exercising is important because of all these "health benefits" and is good to do if one has the "time" to do it, if family and work duties are overwhelming, then exercising will have to be an option (i.e., exercise will only be done if family and work are deal able). Given the foregoing, this quote further exemplifies how Ray continued to inadvertently reinforce Joan's understandings of what her exercise could do for her, and implicitly her identity as first and foremost a mother, in and through his own language practices.

Discussion

Three important points emerge from the results presented within this chapter that warrant discussion. While these are not the only points that could be discussed, these are of particular interest in light of the understanding they provide where Joan's experiences in relation to exercise are concerned, as well as the implications they have for her exercise behavior, and the alternative theory of self and identity put forward earlier. Each of these points will be outlined within a subsection and discussed in terms of why it is important and explored more in-depth with respect to relevant literature/research. Specifically, the subsections will be divided into the following headings: body building in discourse, exercise and the good mother, and (mis)understandings of exercise. Each subsection will be discussed in turn and the points within these subsections will be framed in terms of the broader alternative theory of self and identity put forward in the preceding chapters (i.e., that identity is a collection of narratives spoken from subject positions within discourses which are constructed and maintained by various others and institutional practices).

Body "Building" in Discourse

By drawing primarily upon the discourses of the body, a discourse of exercise and physical appearance, and a discourse of exercise and physiology to make sense of why Joan was exercising, an important effect/outcome was that Joan and her significant others were "building" and (re) producing what her body "is" (and is not) in and through their talk. Given that these discourses converge to construct a particular version of the female body that is considered normal, feminine, fit, and desirable, these micro-practices of talk within larger discourses reified the current cultural constructions of what constitutes the normal (and hence more desirable) fit female form. In this case, the normal fit female form within the context of this study emerged as looking a certain way (e.g., 'thin', 'toned', 'a size 7') and having particular characteristics and/or attributes (e.g., 'disciplined', 'in control', 'fit', 'stamina', 'strength', 'energy'). This "look" and the attributes connected with it were then used to construct what a normal and desirable fit female body can do (e.g., take on more family duties without getting tired, move at a particular intensity and frequency without getting tired, sore, or injured).

In turn, this normal feminine body was used by Joan and her significant others to render Joan as a mother who was identified by what her post-pregnancy body looked like (e.g., overweight, a size 12), the characteristics her body lacked (e.g., stamina, energy, control), and what that body could not do (e.g., take on more family duties in addition to work duties without getting tired). And according to the central tenets of the discourses of exercise and physical appearance and of physiology that they drew upon, this normal fit female body was available to

Joan via the practice of exercise; her current body was viewed as being in the "state" it was because she was not exercising and was overweight. By drawing upon these discourses to construct Joan's identity as that of a mother identified by her body, Joan and her significant others also concluded that attaining this fit female form via the practice of exercise would allow her to take on more childcare and family duties, thereby making her a better a mother. In this way the normal fit female body and the less desirable post-pregnancy body was willfully constructed in and through Joan's, Joe's and Ray's local talk and actions. Thus, what was created and perpetuated as the "normal" fit female body and the unfit female body were held in place and reified via these practices which are behavioral and discursive (Lloyd, 1996).

Why is this notion of "body building" within discourse and specific instances of talk of interest? How does such a notion relate to the alternative theory of the self and identity put forward earlier? This examination and discussion of micro-practices begins to shed some light on the relationship between how women feel about their bodies in relation to exercise and the psychological and behavioral effects that result. Moreover, given that these micro-practices are framed and worked up within discourses which are held in place by others and broader social and institutional practices, we also see that 'the body' is an important resource that people draw upon (in this case Joan and her significant others) to construct who they are (i.e., their identity). This is important because, while it is generally agreed upon within exercise psychology that understanding the relationship between the body (i.e., 'the physical self') and exercise has implications for understanding the exercise participation problem, this relationship is not yet well understood and explicated. This may be due to the cross-sectional data and correlational analyses that permeate this literature within exercise psychology, which are unlikely to tease out the complexities of the relationship between exercise and the body (Davis, 1997). Additionally, similar to what was outlined earlier Chapter Two, our understanding of exercise and the body has also not been advanced because literature within this specific area also tends to adhere to a representational view of language.

Thus, how women feel about their bodies in relation to exercise gets distilled into some taken for granted "thing" called 'body image'. In turn, body image is defined as "…a loose mental representation of the body, as such it may closely map onto the way the external world views us, or it may be quite disparate from this impression" (Davis, 1997, p. 165). Viewed in this way, the standards of bodily perfection inherent in the fitness industry's promotion of health and fitness are socially imposed on us and this then becomes a "template against which we come to form cognitions and emotions about our body" (Davis, 1997, p. 165); culture is out "there" and it can be mapped on to what is in "here" (i.e., the mind). From this perspective, people are also the passive recipients of these cultural constructions with little room for resistance to such norms of what constitutes femininity and masculinity when it comes to the body since these are viewed as natural givens and properties of people and society.

Recently, it was put forward that research on the body within exercise psychology could benefit from establishing closer links between psychological and sociological theory (Fox, 1997). This statement was reinforced by Sparkes (1997), who, within a recent volume of works pertaining to the physical self (see Fox, 1997), provided compelling theoretical and empirical evidence that the physical self is not solely an entity residing within the "mind" that is reciprocally affected by culture and environment. Instead, the physical self is socially constructed. As the term is used here, 'socially constructed' is taken to mean that the body is the product of a variety of discourses and story lines within culture which frame the physical self and its associated identities (Lloyd, 1996; Sparkes, 1997). Furthermore, this also suggests that when it comes to the experiences women have in relation to their bodies and exercise, if these experiences are negative or distress-related, there is much possibility for change via the resistance to dominant norms and views of what constitutes femininity for women. Though this is not any easy task to accomplish, such change *is* possible by virtue of changing the discursive and social practices and the larger institutional practices that frame those discourses and ways of speaking within them.

The use of developments within Discourse Theory (e.g., Foucault, 1977; Weedon, 1987), or more specifically, ethnomethodology and poststructuralism (and implicitly the examination of micro-practices within broader discourses) within the present case study heeds this outcry. Employed in the context of this discussion, Discourse Theory says that 'body image' is not merely a mental or social representation of the body that maps onto the way the external world views us. Rather, 'body image' or what we regard as 'the body' or the 'physical self' is a way of speaking or a discursive object produced at an intersection of discourses. In addition to this, practices and structures at the macro level are also important because these discourses and ways of speaking (i.e., conversations) within them are also held in place by various institutions (e.g., the fitness industry, the media) and social practices (e.g., the way we talk about the body, exercise and dietary practices, advertising practices) to serve particular interests (e.g., the interests of men, the interests of the health and fitness industry) (Weedon, 1987).

Finally, the history of one's conversations with one's self and others within particular discourses in relation to exercise is also important to consider for these will lay the foundation of future conversations, and implicitly, whether or not one exercises. In this regard, if one habitually drew upon particular discourses when making sense of who one is (e.g., one's body) in relation to past exercise attempts, it is more likely that one will continue to draw upon these particular discourses (and hence speak with and about one's self in similar ways) in the present and in the future when taking up exercise again as a practice. And depending upon the discourses drawn upon, particular conversations will result, and particular psychological experiences and behaviors will also result. In this way, these conversations one has about one's body in relation to exercise may or may not be encouraging of exercise.

Framed within the context of the foregoing, what we see in the present case study, is that, Joan and her significant others drew upon the discourses of the body, the discourse of exercise and physical appearance, and the discourse of exercise and physiology when making sense of why Joan wanted to exercise. In so doing, they (re) produced and sustained a particular version of the fit female body via the specific words and phrases (e.g., to be thin, to lose weight, to look better/toned, be a size 7, and to have more energy) they used. This version of the female body was also held in place and perpetuated as a normal and desirable feminine body by the practices in which Joan engaged such as trying to run at a particular intensity for twenty minutes a minimum of three days per week, policing her food intake when she did not run or eating as much as she wanted when she did run, keeping clothes of a particular size (e.g., size 7) that no longer fit and refusing to buy new ones that did fit (e.g., size 12), and making a note of how her current clothes fit when she had or had not been exercising an adequate amount.

In turn, the health and fitness industry legitimated Joan's practices and ways of speaking within the discourses she drew upon to make sense of her exercise behavior via the promotion of running as the mode of exercise to "burn fat", particular exercise prescriptions (e.g., getting the heart rate into the "fat burning" zone at least three times per week), and the use of advertising campaigns and models of a particular shape and size. These discourses and the local practices and ways of speaking that they encourage are also ingrained and, therefore, extremely resistant to change in light of their appeal to scientific information to legitimate their claims (Bordo, 1990; Weedon, 1987). Thus, what we see is that Joan's and her significant others' views of her (body) in relation to exercise are extremely resistant to change since who she "is" has been constructed in relation to a so-called normal version of the female form which appears as a fixed and immutable structure in light of the foregoing.

If we recall the alternative theory of self and identity upon which this research is based we can see that Joan's views of herself (i.e., her body) are also resistant to change because of how others within her social network view her (i.e., the identities they have of her). Joan's significant others, and in particular her husband, Joe, also drew upon similar discourses when making sense of why Joan was exercising. These reasons and the discourses that frame them are also held in place by Joe and Ray's local/micro-practices and these larger practices. For example, Joe indicated in and through his talk when making sense of Joan's exercise that Joan was exercising to lose weight and get back in shape so that she would be less tired and take on more in her life. Thus, Joe worked up an identity of Joan that was connected to her post-pregnancy body within the aforementioned discourses and in so doing he reinforced Joan's reasons for exercising in and through what he said about her exercise program (e.g., that she wanted to attain a better body for him, that attaining the fit female form via exercise would allow her to take on more duties as a mother) and in and through his actions (e.g., he touched Joan's leg to indicate that she was toned or had lost weight). In this way, Joe did not provide resistance to Joan's construction of her own post-pregnancy body, and this made it difficult for Joan to resist such views and the practices connected.

Ray also indicated in and through his talk that Joan was exercising to become fit and to lose weight (i.e., attain the image of the fit female form via the practice of exercise) so that she might have more energy to play with her children. Ray viewed this as an acceptable reason for Joan to be exercising because he drew upon similar discourses to rationalize and make sense of his own reasons for exercising (i.e., to attain the image of a fit male form to be a better father for his own children). In short, Joan's significant others had particular identities of her that were tied to her body that they worked up in discourses similar to those drawn upon by Joan. This meant that when it came to Joan's own reasons for exercising, and implicitly how she viewed and experienced her post-pregnancy body and the practices she engaged in that reinforced and reified the normal fit female form, neither Joe nor Ray provided resistance to these because they had similar views of Joan to Joan's own view of herself and why she wanted to exercise by drawing upon similar discourses. Given the importance of others in one's identity formation and maintenance, this meant that Joan likely strove to live up to, rather than resist, the identities that her significant others had of her as a woman identified by how her post-pregnancy body looked and what it could and could not do.

Together, these notions not only predisposed Joan to construct and experience her current post-pregnancy body as not measuring up, but in light of these notions, it is difficult for Joan to change how she feels about her body (and implicitly the discourses she currently draws upon) in relation to her exercise and non-exercise behavior. While Joan makes choices with respect to her exercise regime, she does so in the context of a limited repertoire of discourses (as do her significant others). These have broader social and institutional supports that not only hold their ways of speaking in place, but make the normal fit female form they "build" appear as a an immutable fact and structure. Because of this, this image and the practices connected are less likely to be contested and resisted by Joan and her significant others. In turn, this makes the normal fit female form appear attainable as an image and hence is the image with which Joan and her significant others construct her current post-pregnancy body as inadequate, less desirable, and a good and acceptable reason for her to be exercising.

Joan has also had a history of conversations with herself within similar discourses in the past in which she has constructed her body in relation to exercise in similar ways (e.g., she has exercised to lose weight because her body has not measured up to the normal fit female body). Given this, we can also see why Joan's conversations about why she is exercising and what it can do for her have become taken-for-granted and hence habitualized. This then made it even less likely that Joan would draw upon other discourses (e.g., a discourse of active living and/or a feminist discourse) in the present study when making sense of why she was exercising that might have predisposed her to more favorable views of her body in relation to exercise.

For example, Joan, Joe, and Ray all noted that, in the past, Joan had attempted to integrate regular routines of exercise into her life in order to attain the normal fit female body; before having children she was exercising to look a certain way for her upcoming wedding and then after the birth of her first son she took up exercise again to try to regain her pre-pregnancy body/look. Given that these reasons for exercising were either very transient (e.g., once some version of the "look" had been achieved there was no reason to keep exercising) or did not deliver the hoped-for-outcomes (e.g., she did not regain her pre-pregnancy "look'), Joan's pattern of exercise was to "stick with it" for a short while, or to abandon her exercise program when it did not deliver the appearance results. And in light of their appeal to common sense and science (e.g., exercise leads to weight loss), these reasons for exercising and the discourses that framed them were not questioned or resisted by Joan, Joe, or Ray (i.e., the accounts they made were not breached nor were the behavioral conventions). In fact, exercising to look a certain way and lose weight was viewed as a very logical and acceptable reason for Joan to be exercising in light of it drawing upon these particular discourses. Implied also is that if one has attained some version of the fit female form (e.g., Joan got "thinner" for her wedding) then one does not really need to be exercising. In part, it is again these discourses' appeal to the taken-for-granted that would make changing Joan's view of her own body and what constitutes a normal fit female body so difficult, making her and her significant others unlikely to breach the conventions (i.e., ways of speaking and behaving) of these discourses and hence resist these ways of speaking and behaving. Viewed in this way, Joan's reasons for exercising and her pattern of exercise behavior (or lack of exercise behavior) have thus been fairly consistent over time and will continue to be so unless the conventions of these discourses are actively resisted.

In addition to drawing upon these discourses in the past and in the present, it is also important to note that Joan has also constructed what her exercise regime will be (i.e., what exercise "is") in a limited fashion. For example, because Joan habitually draws upon a discourse of exercise and physical appearance when making sense of why she wants to exercise, "exercise" for Joan in the past and in the present has always consisted of a very structured routine of running a certain duration (e.g., 20 minutes or more) and intensity (e.g., heart rate into higher range), a certain number of times per week (e.g., minimum of three times). As a result, any other "lighter", less structured physical activity she does (e.g., picking up children, playing with children, going for walks) or has done, was not counted or considered and experienced by Joan as "exercise". This again largely feeds into Joan's reasons for exercising, which are connected to how her body looks; while she does these other activities which are of a lower intensity, these do not lead to the version the fit female form constructed by these discourses. Thus, those activities are not "real exercise" and hence are not as valued.

This had important implications for Joan's adherence to her chosen exercise regime, because, ultimately, given the goals that Joan set (e.g., to run three times per week, 20 minutes per session), these goals ultimately proved to be too stringent given Joan's life situation. Thus, she did not adhere to her exercise program, and she experienced guilt and failure as a result. While this will be discussed more in-depth shortly, for now it can simply be noted that it is not surprising that given the discursive resources that Joan habitually draws upon to construct her exercise in the past, in taking up exercise again in the present, Joan's exercise routine was limited. In turn, her reasons for exercising (i.e., the conversations) were also limited to attaining some version of the fit female form (e.g., to regain the body that used to be a particular weight, size and shape she had before giving birth to two children). Together, the foregoing not only made reaching her exercise goals difficult, but as well, this sheds even more light on why it will be difficult for Joan to view and experience her body in relation to exercise differently (i.e., in a less negative way).

All of the foregoing suggests that what constitutes the normal fit female form being "built up" in and through Joan's and her significant others' talk is a metaphor for culture, a mode of representing and (re) producing dominant values in society (Lloyd, 1996). There is a great deal of scholarship outside of exercise psychology subscribing to this notion. This includes feminist scholarship (see Bartky, 1988; Bordo, 1990; 1993; Chernin, 1981; Lloyd, 1996), research exploring the body via Social Theory (e.g., Bourdieu, 1984; Featherstone, 1982; Shilling, 1993), and sociocultural perspectives on the body within sport, exercise and physical activity (e.g., Hargreaves, 1994; Lloyd, 1996; Maguire & Mansfield, 1998; Miller & Penz, 1991; Theberge, 1992). While often very different in their research orientations and goals, all of this scholarship attempts to raise consciousness and awareness that what people regard as 'the body' is created, sustained, and maintained via the discursive, social, and institutional practices prevalent in Western culture today.

This, in turn, is in line with the alternative theory of the self and identity that the current study seeks to put forth; that identity (in this case part of Joan's identity is connected to her post-pregnancy body) is a collection of conversations within discourse(s) with one's self and key others in one's social network, and that these discourses are held in place by the aforementioned social and institutional practices.

Moreover, this creation and maintenance of the normal fit female body within the context of the present study becomes important to focus upon because the normal fit female body being "built" up by Joan and her significant others within discourse also predisposed Joan to have particular psychological and emotional experiences in relation to her exercise program. In turn, these psychological and emotional experiences had particular behavioral effects for Joan, and this sheds even more light on the body (i.e., physical self) and the exercise participation relationship.

For example, as mentioned, by drawing upon the three discourses outlined in this section to make sense of Joan's exercise program, Joan's post-pregnancy body was implicitly constructed by Joan and her significant others within these discourses as not measuring up (i.e., her post-pregnancy body was not considered a fit and healthy body) via the use of statements and words (e.g., 'thin', 'lose weight', 'have more energy/stamina') that constructed the normal fit female body. This construction and use of the normal fit female body was good in one sense because it served as a facilitator of Joan's exercise program (i.e., Joan had begun an exercise program in order to attain the image of the fit female form). Given this, when Joan adhered to her exercise program and when she had lost weight or noted that her clothes fit differently (e.g., her pants were looser in the waist), she experienced happiness, empowerment, and a sense of accomplishment where her exercise program was concerned. As well, given the identity that Joe had of Joan in relation to her post-pregnancy body and his own use of the fit female form to construct this identity within similar discourses, Joe also reinforced Joan's foregoing views of herself and the reactions connected.

However, Joan did not always experience positive psychological experiences in relation to her exercise regime. This was because even when Joan did exercise regularly (which was not often) or if she were to exercise regularly in the future, her body would likely never fall within the narrow confines of what constitutes the normal fit female form (Bartkey, 1988; Bordo, 1990). Indeed, even when Joan did have positive psychological experiences in relation to her body and storied her exercise program as a "success", she indicated in and through her talk (e.g., that she was "feeling fat") and actions (e.g., she policed her food intake and/or reinstated her exercise program) that she was merely approaching the normal fit female form. Thus, despite this predestined failure in achieving the normal fit female form, by virtue of drawing upon a limited repertoire of discourses to make sense of her exercise experiences, Joan was attempting to integrate a regular program of exercise in order to achieve it, making her body a project in progress in and through her own talk and behavior (Bartky, 1988). This then had detrimental behavioral effects (e.g., policing her food intake if she missed an exercise session or eating whatever she wanted after she had exercised) and negative psychological and emotional consequences (e.g., anxiety, self-disdain, guilt, shame) for Joan.

Moreover, this suggests that Joan was not experiencing the psychological and emotional benefits from her exercise participation that have been identified as important outcomes of exercise participation (see Gauvin, Spence, & Anderson, 1999), but rather distress. In part, this had implications for Joan's withdrawal from her exercise program and/or sporadic participation because at times she concluded that her exercise program was not working and she was therefore discouraged from exercising. There were also occasions when Joan employed the image of the fit female form to reinstate her exercise program after she had missed several exercise sessions.

However, despite the image of the fit female form being used as a facilitator of her exercise when it had lapsed, the end result was that Joan still experienced guilt and anxiety where her body and exercise program was concerned rather than positive psychological and emotional benefits, again concluding that she must exercise because her post-pregnancy body did not measure up.

Traditional research within exercise psychology supports the foregoing with work in the area of exercise and 'body image' suggesting that when women engage in exercise to pursue the image of the "body beautiful" that is perpetuated by the media and society, feelings of unhappiness and anxiety about one's body in relation to exercise and the engagement in unhealthy behaviors (e.g., excessive exercise or dieting) (Davis, 1997) can result. Additionally, research from this perspective has also noted that while exercise can enhance a woman's 'perceived body image', that image can shift toward a thinner standard with the result being dissatisfaction whether one is improving or not. Regardless, the implication here is that again many women, and in this case Joan, may not be experiencing positive psychological benefits from exercise participation.

Literature within the sociocultural realm of physical activity departs from these notions, but adds to this understanding nonetheless where the body and exercise is concerned by suggesting that Joan's exercise can be viewed as both an enabling and a constraining practice. Thus, while in one sense exercise was empowering for her (e.g., she noted that by taking up exercise as a practice she felt more in control of her life and her body), it was also disempowering (Lloyd, 1996; Maguire & Mansfield, 1998). This was because, by exercising primarily to attain the normal fit female body built up within discourse(s) and experiencing her current post-pregnancy body as not measuring up to this, Joan was also subjecting herself to patriarchal notions of what constitutes femininity (Cole, 1993).

For example, Maguire and Mansfield (1998) found support for this notion of women engaging in a "rationalized control" of their bodies that is interwoven within a network of patriarchal power relations. In their six month study of women participating in aerobics classes, they found that exercise practices such as aerobics reinforce the constraining effects of dominant femininity within contemporary society. Specifically, the sixteen women interviewed were pursuing what Maguire and Mansfield (1998) called the "social body" and experienced internalized distress, shame, and distaste, about their bodies and themselves as a result. In turn, this made it difficult for them to realize a truly self-defined identity because they defined themselves in relation to a larger social view of how they were *supposed* to look.

This would be similar or in line with the alternative theory of self and identity being articulated within this study which emphasizes social networks (i.e., Others) and material and institutional bodies (Weedon, 1987) in the construction of who we are (and implicitly our behavior). Thus, in the case of the women in Maguire and Mansfield's (1998) study, the 'Other' that was used to construct identities for these women was the underlying patriarchal framework of the "exercise-body beautiful complex" that characterizes the "social body". In the case of Joan, the Other that she used to construct her identity (and implicitly her distaste for her post-pregnancy body) was also the "social body", or more specifically, the discourse of exercise and physical appearance, and the practices within the fitness and health industry (re) produced a particular "social body" which was the Other. Additionally, the Other was also the identities that Joan was trying to live up to that her significant others had of her, particularly Joe, who, by virtue of the discourses he drew upon, constructed a future identity of her as a better mother by virtue of the "fit" and desirable body she would attain via the practice of exercise. Moreover, Joe even indicated that one of the reasons Joan was exercising to attain the fit female body was for him so that the physical attraction between them as man and wife might be enhanced. He indicated too that he thought Joan was unhappy and experienced a great deal of discomfort in relation to how her body looked since having had children, and that while it didn't bother him, "psychologically it might".

If such feelings of discomfort, shame, and distaste about her body result, the question becomes, why does Joan subject herself to this? Why doesn't she just choose to resist this? One thing that is interesting to note that has not been noted thus far in this discussion is the fact that there are times that Joan did recognize that the image of the fit female form that she was pursuing via her exercise regime was indeed unrealistic and likely not possible for her. Despite this, she contradicted herself via the practices she engaged in and still experienced not only guilt and shame in relation to how her body looked, but she continued to indicate that she wanted to pursue her exercise regime despite this image of the fit female form being unrealistic. In this regard, we must remember that in the context of Discourse Theory, and more specifically, in the context of the alternative theory of self and identity sought within this study, while Joan's local practices (i.e., her talk and behavior) are chosen by her, these choices are made within a larger web of discourses, which are held in place by her social network via the similar discourses they participate in, and larger institutional practices.

Viewed in this way, Joan's choices are her own (i.e., she has some agency), but they are not hers alone (i.e., her choices are limited by the conditions of possibility within the discourses she draws upon and the discourses that Joe and Ray draw upon). Adding to this understanding, a possible explanation for Joan subjecting herself to the stringent image of the fit female form might also be that while it is possible to resist this (see Miller & Penz's (1991) study of female body builders), as Maguire and Mansfield (1998) suggested, it is difficult for women to resist this image of the fit female body because women who do not conform to the ideal image experience a fear that they are unattractive, worthless and socially undesirable. As well, the discourses that Joan draws upon, and implicitly, the power relations intertwined within them, are internalized and Joan's actions/behavior with respect to diet, exercise, and saving clothes of a smaller size, are partly structured by her fear, anxiety, shame, and embarrassment. Joan's conscious choices within particular discourses are therefore shaped by the social construction of what is feminine (e.g., the fit female body, the practices of diet and exercise) and the exercise-body beautiful complex (i.e., the wider practices within the health and fitness industry that reinforce a particular "look").

It is also worth mentioning that research has also shown that women may experience the repressive and liberating features of exercise in varying degrees (Cole, 1993; Markula, 1995; Miller & Penz, 1991). Thus, Joan did not always "build" and experience her post-pregnancy body as inadequate and undesirable, and indeed, she noted that her post-pregnancy body had afforded her with some liberation with respect to what her body could do. In this regard, there were times when making sense of her body in relation to her daily physical activity that Joan talked about how she felt her arms were actually stronger after having had children and carrying them around on a daily basis. She also made comparisons of her post-pregnancy body in relation to her co-worker's body who had not yet had children; Joan suggested that perhaps her co-worker weighed more than she did because she did not get the daily physical activity that she did because of what she did with and for her children. Yet, as mentioned, at the same time Joan experienced the repressive force of her exercise regime, not considering what she did with and for her children as "real" exercise or that she herself was an "exerciser" or fit because she had not achieved the "look" of the fit female form that "real" forms of exercise (e.g., running at a particular intensity) allow. As well, the liberating experiences that she had regarding her post-pregnancy body and what it could do were ultimately in relation to approaching some version of the normal fit female form.

Given all of the foregoing, we begin to see why, for Joan, when approaching the normal fit female form she did have some positive psychological experiences in relation to her exercise regime and her body, and hence experienced some (though limited) empowerment from her exercise program. However, in agreement with Maguire and Mansfield (1998) we also see that, while Joan's reasons for exercising and the discourses within which those reasons were worked up were largely in relation to improving her body (i.e., to attain the fit female body) "for herself", ultimately, by modifying her body according to larger legitimated notions of physical appearance, she was doing so for Others (e.g., her husband Joe, her children, the social body). This had the effect of (re) producing and sustaining what constitutes the normal fit female body within contemporary Western culture, and this also lends support to the alternative theory of self and identity sought within this study to better understand exercise adherence and exercise participation.

In light of what has been presented in this section, it should be clear that studying the body in relation to exercise as being "built up" in discourse(s), which are held in place by various Others, and social and institutional practices, is important. If we want to begin to fully comprehend this or the ways in which women's bodies are constituted (and implicitly their identities) and the psychological and behavioral effects that result, particularly in relation to exercise adherence and withdrawal, then attention also needs to be given to those modes of behavior that women and society have taken on and constructed as normal (i.e., the taken-for-granted ways of speaking and behaving).

Moreover, as Bourdieu (1977, 1983) reminds us and as Garfinkel (1967) suggests, while Western culture constructs and makes these images available for use, there must be agents and individuals willing to take them on. People do not just sit there irrespective and separate of the social and cultural world and then have these messages and images inscribed on them. Instead people take them on and consume them in their local talk and actions; i.e., people (re) create the social world of which they are a part (Garfinkel, 1967). Thus, by examining Joan's, Joe's and Ray's micro-practices (i.e., talk) and behavior and/or their everyday mundane practices that are considered normal within the present study we learn information about the generality of Western culture through the specificity of their accounts which, as poststructuralism asserts, are the product of the larger discursive, social, and cultural domain (Hollway, 1989; Weedon, 1987).

The accounts that people make in the construction of who they are (e.g., who Joan "is" is identified by a post-pregnancy body that does not measure up) are not easily breached, and for this reason, Joan came to think, feel and behave in predictable ways when it came to her body in relation to exercise. This paved the way for how Joan felt about her body in relation to her exercise regime in the present study, and will also therefore have implications for how she feels about her body in relation to exercise in the future. Hence, if Joan's behavior, experiences, and how she views her body are to be changed and resisted so that they are more favorable toward and encouraging of exercise, the larger social and institutional practices (e.g., the way health and fitness are marketed and promoted) will also have to change and be resisted so that the discourses Joan and her significant others draw upon can also change. Such changes are necessary so that the breaching of the taken-for-granted accounts (e.g., reasons why Joan is exercising) made at the local level and the behavioral conventions associated with them can also be breached and make it more likely that Joan will experience new and different views of herself (i.e., her body) and hence experience the positive benefits of physical activity where her body is concerned.

Exercise and the Good Mother

Another important effect of Joan and her significant others drawing upon particular discourses to makes sense of why Joan wanted to exercise and should be exercising and hence building up her body within discourse, was that the image of the fit female form they worked up in discourses and then used to make sense of why Joan was exercising was connected to Joan being a better mother. Thus, by drawing upon a discourse of the body, the discourse of exercise and physical appearance, and the discourse of exercise physiology and having conversations about why Joan was exercising that related to losing weight and looking a certain way (which would lead to Joan gaining energy, strength and stamina), ultimately Joan wanted to gain these attributes because she hoped she would be able to take on more childcare duties. Joan concluded that taking on more childcare duties in addition to already working full time would make her a better mother because she would be able to spend more time doing activities with her children. In this way, as mentioned, Joan's identity emerged as primarily that of a mother who was identified what her post-pregnancy body looked like but also by what it could and could not do. Given too that Joe and Ray drew upon particular discourses and came to similar understandings, as ethnomethodology would assert, this meant that they reinforced Joan's understandings in this regard and implicitly her mother identity via their lack of resistance to the conventions and accounts/ways of speaking and behaving that these discourses encouraged (i.e., they did not breach Joan's accounts and central tenets of these discourses but instead participated in similar discourses).

In turn, Joan's reasons for exercising that were used in this construction of her identity as a mother suggest that exercise ultimately had a subordinate role in Joan's life; being a mother came first and being an exerciser came second or was only possible if it were connected to motherhood. What this means is that, for Joan, because she drew upon particular discourses to make sense of why she wanted to exercise, her exercise regime was viewed and experienced as a means to an end (e.g., exercise will lead to weight loss and fitness, but achieving weight loss and fitness are desirable because they will allow her to take on more duties as a mother). If that end could not be achieved via Joan's exercise program, then Joan was discouraged from exercising. For example, when Joan became injured or felt any pain as a result of her exercise, she gave up her exercise because it interfered with her duties as a mother. Moreover, this also suggests that Joan's exercise was constructed and viewed by her as an option or an add-on, meaning as long as Joan's work and family life were manageable, exercise was a possibility. However, as mentioned, Joan's work duties did increase and therefore she could not exercise at work on her lunch hour. Exercising at night was out of the question for Joan because, as the primary caregiver to her children, she concluded that she had to look after them. Thus, Joan gave up her exercise in light of it being an option and coming after work and family-related duties.

While research specifically exploring women who are mothers and their exercise participation is limited, some research has found that mothers with younger children are less physically active than mothers with older children or women with no children (Hall 1976; Smith, 1987). Additionally, some of the traditional research discussed earlier that has explored women's exercise participation relative to social roles (e.g., work and motherhood) has found that women who are mothers tend to have more perceived barriers to their exercise than woman who are not mothers (Verhoef & Love, 1994). In particular, women with young children in this study listed lack of time as a result of family obligations as impeding their physical activity participation. But why is this so? Why do women not take the time for themselves and why might women like Joan view their exercise as an option or an add-on and prioritize their family?

Given the limited research in this regard and that the answers to these questions are complex these are not easy questions to answer. However, a qualitative study by Hochschild (1989) in which the experiences of couples who both worked but also had young children is auseful starting point. In this regard, Hochschild's (1989) research, which included in-depth interviews with couples as well as observations of those couples interacting in their home environment, found that when it came to maintaining peace and harmony within the family, it was women who typically compromised their own needs. This included reducing one's work load to part time in order to be home to maintain the household (e.g., do the laundry, cook dinner), and giving up one's leisure activities to accomplish the same. This was true even for more egalitarian marriages in which men also helped out with childcare and domestic duties. In fact, for these egalitarian couples, even if women did not give up their work duties and activities, when they engaged in them they reported that they experienced a great deal of anxiety, guilt, and distress because they feared being labeled as inadequate mothers or that they were not fulfilling their natural roles and duties as mothers.

Hochschild's (1989) results as well as the results in the current study can be better understood if framed in terms of Discourse Theory. In this regard, Discourse Theory would suggest that one of the reasons that women compromise their own needs and subordinate them to those of others, particularly men and children, is because they currently live within a patriarchal society and culture. What this means is that while there are a multitude of discourses for use that women with children can draw upon to make sense of their exercise, because we live in a patriarchal society, the patriarchal discourse of the family is particularly prevalent. While this discourse and the effects it has for Joan's identity construction and exercise behavior are going to be discussed more in-depth in the chapter, there is good reason for briefly mentioning it here because it sheds some light on why Joan would construct and view her exercise as an add-on or option and subordinate her own needs for the needs of her children and the family, as well as why Joe and Ray would also view Joan and her exercise in a similar light.

In this regard, the central tenet of a patriarchal discourse of the family is that there are particular roles and duties suited to men vis-à-vis women, the likes of which structure the sexual division of labour within the family. Thus, when it comes to exercising, what we see is that the Joan habitually uttered phrases to herself or to others that contained reasons for not exercising, such as having to be home for her husband and children or not having the time because of childcare duties. In short, the family's needs ultimately took precedence over her own because, within the discourse that she framed her situation, she correctly understood herself to be responsible for those needs.

Additionally, the various others within Joan's social network, such as Ray, who is also a working father primarily responsible for his children's needs, and her husband Joe, were drawing upon similar discourses and thus reinforcing her ways of speaking about her exercise as an option and the behaviors tied to that (e.g., working instead of exercising, caring for children instead of exercising). This was by virtue of them also constructing their own identities within these discourses. For example, Ray used similar terms to those of Joan in the construction of her identity as a working mother. Joe also constructed his identity as a husband and father as that of being the head of the family and therefore not being naturally well suited to help out with childcare duties. Together, by virtue of drawing upon these patriarchal discourses of the family, Ray and Joe constructed and reinforced Joan's identity as that of a working mother in a similar way within the patriarchal discourse of the family.

Thus, drawing upon a patriarchal discourse, Joan likely found it easier to accommodate others' needs and, thus, to not exercise; she was more likely to engage in behaviors such as cooking dinner, doing household chores, and caring for the children in order to maintain the harmony and structure of the family. Within the theoretical framework of this study, if we also consider this example in light of the objectified history outlined earlier in Chapter Two, what we find is that, when attending to these ways of speaking and behaving and the discourses within which they occurred, these are tied to a history of work and procreation practices centering on the family. These ideas and practices have been naturalized as facts or common sense in the form of theories (e.g., some biological theories suggest young children need their mothers more than their fathers), customs (e.g., women stay home to care for children when they are young while men are the primary bread winners), and laws (e.g., women receive paid maternity leave; men often do not). Embodied history would further suggest that staying home, cooking, and performing other behaviors/actions related to family duties rather than exercising are behaviors that are the product of a historical acquisition that makes it possible to appropriate this legacy of history where the family is concerned.

Additionally, it is likely that Joan was unaware that when she uttered her reasons for wanting to exercise, which were connected to her being a better mother, as well as her excuses for not exercising and subordinated her exercise and performed domestic duties instead, she was re-enacting these conventions which are the result of a long history of work and procreation practices. As well, because Joan and her others (i.e., Joe and Ray) constructed her identity as a working mother primarily and habitually within the patriarchal discourse of the family, Joan ultimately experienced herself as being primarily responsible for her children and for maintaining the harmony within the family. In turn, she was predisposed to view her exercise as an option and her particular ways of speaking about exercise (e.g., saying that it would enhance her duties as a mother) allowed her to avoid experiencing guilt and anxiety. Moreover, because these words and specific accounts were linked to the foregoing, when uttered, Joan's actions (i.e., her local ways of speaking and the behaviors she engaged in at the expense of exercising) (re) produced particular relations with her self and Joe and Ray. At the same time, these were reified and (re) produced in the concrete practices taking place within her family (Fairclough, 1992).

Thus as we will soon see, lasting behavioral change will be difficult to achieve for Joan not simply because she lacks 'motivation' and 'willpower' or because she cannot overcome 'barriers' to exercise or because of her 'role' as a working mother in society as more traditional theories and forms of research within exercise psychology would suggest. In addition, change will be difficult for Joan because she and her others construct her identity using a limited repertoire of terms by virtue of the limited discursive resources at their disposal. These in turn are legitimated, reinforced, limited, and held in place via historical, institutional, and material conditions. And finally, because Joan's, Joe's, and Ray's discursive practices and actions, are also the result of an objectified and embodied history of which they are unaware, Joan's situation and who she is is likely to be viewed and experienced by her and others as unchangeable, leaving her little possibility to change her behavior from sedentary to more active behavior.

(Mis)Understandings of Exercise

Another important effect of Joan and her significant others drawing upon limited discourses to make sense of Joan's exercise is that there may have been "errors" or "misunderstandings" in Joan's "thinking" when it came to what exercise was and what it could do for her. In turn, such misunderstandings are important to acknowledge because they also detracted from Joan's physical activity participation. Additionally, these "errors" may also have contributed to the distress and anxiety Joan experienced when it came to her exercise program, making her less likely to experience the psychological benefits of her program and less likely to adhere to her program. Moreover, Joe and Ray also drew upon similar discourses to make sense of Joan's exercise behavior. This suggests that they too had "errors" in their understanding and thus may have been inadvertently contributing towards reinforcing Joan's misunderstandings and implicitly some the distress and anxiety that Joan experienced. We must also keep in mind that all of these "errors" in understanding are relevant because they are ultimately connected to Joan's, Joe's, and Ray's reasons for why Joan was exercising, which were ultimately used by Joan and her significant others to construct her post-pregnancy body (i.e., her identity) within discourse(s) as not measuring up. Thus, these "errors" in understanding have implications for further illustrating and understanding how and that Joan's identity in relation to her body is discursively (re) produced and the effects (e.g., psychological and behavioral) that this had.

For example, as a result of habitually drawing upon the discourses of the body, the discourse of exercise and physical appearance, and the discourse of exercise and physiology to construct a particular version of the fit female form, and hence experiencing herself as woman whose post-pregnancy body does not measure up, Joan concluded that when she exercised she could eat whatever she wanted. At the same time Joan also concluded that when she did not exercise, she must police her food intake because then her body might not be approaching the normal fit female form. Joan made these conclusions in light of the central tenets of the foregoing discourses that she drew upon to make sense of her exercise program; i.e., exercise leads to weight loss and a particular appearance and if one loses weight and looks a certain way (e.g., 'thin', 'toned', 'is a size 7') then one is healthy because one is attaining the fit female form. Conversely, recall too that these discourses also suggest that if one is not exercising then one will not lose weight, not be attaining the fit female form, and must therefore try to control that weight by controlling one's food intake.

However, research in the area of diet, exercise, and weight loss suggests that the foregoing is not necessarily the case. For example, just exercising without a change in diet will not necessarily lead to weight loss, or at least not optimal fat weight loss (Zutti & Golding, 1976). In this regard, while it is possible to lose weight through diet or exercise alone, research suggests that the composition of the lost weight varies considerably. Specifically, while regular exercise (e.g., exercising three or more times per week) alone can reduce body fat and build lean muscle, diet restriction alone will decrease body fat and muscle. The most effective weight loss program thus includes a combination of exercise and a balanced diet with some reduction in the number of calories consumed (Bishop & Aldana, 1999). Additionally, as mentioned previously, even if Joan were to combine exercise with a balanced diet, it is unlikely that she would ever attain the image of the fit female form that is constructed via these discourses that she habitually draws upon.

Despite this, by drawing upon particular discourses to make sense of her exercise program, which suggest that one who exercises will attain the fit female form, Joan had concluded that she could exercise and lose weight and hence attain the image of the fit female form without any change in her diet. In fact, as mentioned, on some occasions she concluded that she could eat whatever she wanted (e.g., while on her vacation she ate extra helpings of bacon and hash browns at the breakfast buffet) and still be able to lose weight because she was exercising. In this regard, there is research that also refutes this understanding, suggesting that if one eats more calories than one expends, one will actually gain weight (Bishop & Aldana, 1999). As well, a diet higher in fat will contain more calories than a leaner diet and may lead to more body weight or no change in weight if one is exercising (Bishop & Aldana, 1999).

Finally, given that Joan's exercise participation was sporadic at best and that she had not been participating in a regular exercise program for several weeks at the time of the follow-up interview, it is likely too that even if it were possible for her to attain some "acceptable" version of what constitutes the fit female form, such an attainment would take longer than twelve weeks, even if she did adhere to her exercise regime (Bishop & Aldana, 1999). Together, all of these errors in Joan's thinking framed within the foregoing discourses not only predisposed her to engage in behaviors such as eating whatever she wanted when she had exercised, or police her food intake when she had not exercised, but such errors also predisposed her to experience feelings of discouragement and frustration in relation to her chosen exercise regime discussed earlier. Thus, again what we see is that as a result of drawing upon these particular discourses to make sense of her exercise, by virtue of the reasons Joan employed for her exercise, which were used to construct the fit female form, Joan was missing out on some of the positive psychological outcomes and benefits of exercise and instead experiencing anxiety and distress.

Another error in Joan's thinking occurred in relation to the fact that she was exercising (i.e., running) to attain the fit female form so that she would be a better mother to her children. Specifically, Joan had indicated that she wanted to lose weight and therefore gain the attributes of the fit female form such as strength, stamina, and energy so that she might be able to engage in more play time with her children and take on more family duties without getting tired.

Similarly, Ray indicated that he made sense not only of Joan's exercise program in a similar way within similar discourses, but as well that he made sense of his own exercise program in the same way. Given that he and Joan were exercise partners, this meant that Ray likely reinforced Joan's own misunderstandings where this was concerned in and through not only the identity he had of her as a mother, but also in and through the identity he had of himself as an involved father/parent. Joe also indicated (and hence likely reinforced Joan's misunderstanding) that he had a similar misunderstanding within similar discourses about what Joan's exercise program could do for her when he said that Joan's exercise program would allow her to take on more childcare duties without getting tired.

However, performing cardiovascular exercise (e.g., running) three times per week for twenty minutes per session will not make Joan into a "super woman" who will have "energy" to burn and therefore be able to take on more and more. This is particularly true if one already has a stressful life situation and does not alter one's workload and current life situation (Girdano, Everly, & Dusek, 1997). Other research refutes this notion of a super woman who can do it all with energy and enthusiasm, suggesting that the super woman does not exist and is therefore not attainable because she is a cultural construction (Shaevitz, 1984). Thus, the term 'super woman' came about not because women *naturally* have an abundance of energy for their families and children and therefore love and need to be busy. Rather, this research suggests the term and notions that women can "do it all" came about in response to women moving into the workforce as means of glamorizing the busy working mother, the effect of which covers up and silences women's stress and the fact that working mothers might need help from others (e.g., fathers) (Hochschild, 1989; Shaevitz, 1984).

In this regard, given that Joan was working full time on top of being primarily responsible for caring for her two young children, trying to incorporate a stringent exercise regime into her life without any adjustments to her current schedule actually resulted in Joan being overloaded even more (Hochschild, 1989; Shaevitz, 1984; Verhoef, & Love, 1992). There are reasons why Joan did not alter this schedule, and indeed, there are also good reasons to ask why it should be Joan alone who should alter her schedule in the first place (i.e., why should Joan be accommodating others?). While such reasons illuminate why Joan was not able to adhere to her exercise program, these will be outlined and discussed in the next chapter when Joan's not being able to exercise is explored in more depth. For the discussion at hand, it can simply be noted that the outcome/effect of Joan not altering her schedule was that Joan became tired and overwhelmed as a result of her current duties and trying to take on more (i.e., exercise at work), and ultimately her exercise participation decreased or did not occur at all.

While there is limited research exploring the exercise participation of working mothers and the role of stress and anxiety, some traditional research (i.e., representationalist research) has explored the relevance of women's 'social roles' (e.g., parenthood, employment status, and marital status) and exercise participation. This research has found that whether working women with children exercised or not was related to role overload (i.e., feelings of strain and stress resulting from feelings of having too much to do and not enough time to do it) (Verhoef & Love, 1992). Thus, these researchers found that working mothers tended to experience a great deal of stress and anxiety from taking on too much and feeling overwhelmed and therefore tended to exercise a lesser amount than women who worked and did not have children.

Additionally, given that Joan wanted to attain the image of the fit female form so that she could have increased strength and stamina to be able to pick up her children with ease and do more activities with them, another misunderstanding occurred because cardiovascular exercise alone will not necessarily lead to such changes, nor will being thinner, losing weight, and looking a particular way lead to such changes. In this regard, if Joan was running in the hopes of gaining more strength in her muscles, she would also need to engage in a weight training regime to make her specific muscle groups stronger, since running is a cardiovascular activity and will not lead to such physical changes (Bishop & Aldana, 1999). Additionally, recent research in the area of body weight and cardiovascular fitness, stamina, and health has found that people who exercise a regular amount can still achieve cardiovascular fitness and other health benefits, and not necessarily lose weight and look a certain way (e.g., 'toned'). Thus, being overweight, heavier, and hence not approaching the ideal female form, is not necessarily related to fitness (or lack of fitness) if one is exercising the recommended moderate amount (i.e., being 'thin', 'toned' or a particular weight does not mean one is fit and healthy) (Blair & Connelly, 1996).

This is not to make a moral judgment and say that Joan should have been taking on more physical activity by adding weight training to her already difficult exercise regime, or that she was necessarily overweight and fit or overweight and unfit and therefore should have been exercising more to control that. However, it should be acknowledged that the poststructuralist perspective to which this work subscribes would suggest that even the notion of promoting exercise as good for people or as something they should be doing is a moral judgment and as such is political because it does serve the interests of some while subordinating the interests of others. While this is important, focusing on the politics of such an agenda is beyond the scope of this dissertation and therefore will not be the focus of the discussion at hand. For now, it can be noted that what the above notation is merely intended to illustrate is that Joan again had some "errors" where her thinking was concerned regarding what running (i.e., her chosen exercise regime) could do for her as a result of drawing upon limited discourses. Ultimately, while the implications of this can in fact be political and raise moral issues regarding why or whether people should be "exercising" (i.e., engaging in a strict prescription of exercise) in the first place, the interest here is more in the implications this had for how Joan felt about her post-pregnancy body in relation to her exercise regime. This is because by having these "errors" in her understandings with respect to what her program could do for her, that program ultimately did not deliver the effects and results she had hoped for. This predisposed Joan to experience failure and inadequacy where her post-pregnancy body was concerned and also led her to conclude that perhaps her exercise regime was not working, and that perhaps she had not properly "adhered" to "exercise", adding to her discouragement and frustration to continue with her exercise regime.

Within this section, it is also important to revisit the fact that, as a result of drawing upon these particular discourses to make sense of why she was exercising, another important effect of this was that Joan had constructed what exercise "is" and would be for her in a limited fashion. This had implications not only for her adherence to her chosen exercise regime, but again also had implications for the psychological and emotional experiences she had in relation to that exercise regime. Moreover, Joan's misunderstandings of what exercise "is" can also be more explicitly framed within the ethnomethodological and poststructuralist work to which this research subscribes. In this regard, given that ethnomethodology and poststructuralism draw our attention to questioning the taken-for-granted assumptions of people's everyday accounts, exploring Joan's "misunderstandings" of what exercise "is" in the context of these theories can lead to problematizing what constitutes "adherence to exercise" (i.e., purposeful exercise in which heart rate is manipulated) in the first place, and hence allow us to further understand Joan's experiences in relation to exercise.

For example, by constructing exercise as having to consist of a particular mode/type of activity, duration, frequency, and intensity, several effects resulted for Joan. The first of these was that Joan had excluded herself from the possibility of considering other forms of exercise and physical activity at other times of the day and places outside of work. In short, by drawing upon a discourse of exercise and physical appearance and a discourse of exercise and physiology and hence understanding what "exercise" was and could do in a limited way, Joan had also limited herself to a very narrow window of time in which to fit her exercise. There are other discourses that Joan drew upon that also contributed to her structuring exercise in a limited fashion such as a patriarchal discourse of the family. This will be explored more in-depth in the next chapter. For now, suffice to say that because Joan understood and took for granted that exercise was a particular and purposeful stringent prescription with a discourse of exercise and physical appearance and a discourse of exercise physiology, given her current life situation, she had decided she could only fit "exercise" in at work during her lunch hour. This then did not allow her many windows of opportunity to exercise, especially outside of work.

While research suggests that in general women's participation in workplace exercise is low (Verhoef, Hamm, & Love, 1993), one study done from a representationalist perspective has shown that for those women who did participate in such programs, being a parent can actually have a positive effect on participation (Spillman, 1988). This was explained by the fact that motherhood (and implicitly the practices associated) was not a constraint for women's exercise because exercise participation was on employer time and did not detract from family time. Thus, it should be mentioned that while on the one hand, limiting her exercise solely to the workplace was a facilitator of Joan's exercise initially (i.e., she was able to exercise because it did not interfere with her family time), on the other hand, when both work and family demands increased, Joan ultimately gave up her exercise at work and did not exercise outside of work either. This is in part explained by Joan's misunderstandings of what constitutes exercise; thus she did not entertain the possibility of alternative forms of exercise and physical activity (e.g., walking with her children or cycling with the family outside of work) that might have made it more likely that she still engaged in some form of physical activity when more purposeful and stringent exercise sessions at work were missed.

The second implication of Joan constructing exercise in a limited fashion by virtue of drawing upon these discourses also meant that Joan "jumped" into her new exercise routine rather quickly without considering the possibility that she needed to start out slowly, perhaps walking or combining walking with running before she could run at the frequency, duration, and intensity that she desired (Pollock et al., 1998). Moreover, going from not having such an exercise regime to attempting such a high criterion and intensity of activity (i.e., running three times per week) has also been shown to be difficult for sedentary people to adhere to (Makosky, 1994). Instead, the recommendation is that people who wish to begin an exercise program should start by incorporating shorter bouts of physical activity into their lives and then work up to a more structured and intense regime (Pollock et al., 1998). However, because Joan did not have these understandings where her exercise regime was concerned by virtue of the discourses she continued to draw upon, an important effect was that Joan did too much exercise too soon, became injured as a result, and had to take days off from her exercise program.

Another effect of drawing upon these limited discourses to make sense of her exercise was that in addition to Joan experiencing injury and distress from her exercise regime, Joan also excluded herself from the possibility of acknowledging and experiencing that she was receiving some health benefits from her current lifestyle behaviors. Such an acknowledgement might have made it more likely that Joan experienced some feelings of success and fewer feelings of failure and distress where her exercise behavior and body were concerned. In this regard, while it has been alluded to already, it can be explicitly pointed out that, as the primary caregiver of her young children, Joan was in effect already engaging in some physical activity outside of her more formal exercise regime. For example, Joan noted during our interviews that despite not having exercised (and thus not being an "exerciser") she continually chased after her young children, picked them up and carried them around, and took them to the playground and actively played with them several times a week. Her husband Joe also noted this by virtue of drawing upon similar discourses saying that what Joan did with and for the children was not really exercise and that currently "Joan did not do much", thereby also revealing that he had similar misunderstandings within similar discourses where Joan's exercise, as opposed to physical activity, was concerned.

So while Joan's activity with her children might not lead to Joan gaining the attributes of the supposedly fit female form (e.g., weight loss, becoming a particular size and shape), she still might be gaining health benefits from the moderate forms of physical activity that she does do. Thus, as ethnomethodology and poststructuralism remind us, because Joan and Joe have taken-for-granted that "exercise" must be purposeful and of a particular prescription if it is to lead to health benefits, and that what constitutes those health benefits is attaining some version of the fit female form, they have excluded the possibility of resisting this notion of what constitutes "exercise" and "adherence to exercise". In so doing, they have excluded themselves from acknowledging that Joan's daily physical already makes her an active person and that Joan is gaining some important health benefits from that activity, despite not "adhering" to her more purposeful exercise regime at work.

Viewed in this light, those little bouts of physical activity, though at a lower intensity than the purposeful exercise prescription Joan seeks to incorporate into her life, are still providing Joan with important health benefits such as reduced risk of coronary heart disease, and reduced risk for cancer and osteoporosis (Blair & Connelly, 1996; Bouchard, Shephard & Stevens, 1994; U.S. Department of Health, 1996). Perhaps more importantly, what we also see is that the taken-for-granted notion of what constitutes "adherence" to "exercise" within the discourse of exercise and physical appearance and the discourse of exercise and physiology is very constraining and limiting and that resisting such notions via drawing upon other discourses could have predisposed Joan to acknowledge the health benefits of her (albeit less purposeful) daily physical activity. And given that poststructuralism asserts that the meanings of objects and things, including "exercise" and "adherence", are constructed within discourse(s), this means that the meaning of what constitutes Joan's "exercise adherence" within the entire scope of this study can therefore be contested and resisted via changing, and drawing upon, different discourses (Weedon, 1987).

Viewed in this way, as a researcher interested in solving the exercise adherence problem when, in the analysis, interpretation, and presentation of these results, I ultimately ask, "did Joan adhere to her exercise regime?", if I draw upon similar discourses to Joan and Joe, I am predisposed to answer, "no, she did not adhere to an exercise prescription of running three times per week, twenty minutes per session, at a moderate intensity". And indeed, the next chapter is devoted to *this* notion of "exercise adherence". However, if I draw upon an alternative discourse such as a discourse of active living, the likes of which also garners some of its legitimacy and meaning from a discourse of exercise and physiology, I am afforded with the possibility of answering this question differently. In this regard I am afforded the possibility to say that while Joan did not adhere to her desired more stringent exercise regime, she still engaged in less purposeful daily forms of physical activity on a regular basis, and in so doing, she still likely gained important health benefits.

Lest it be unclear, the discourse of active living promotes the above idea via its deconstruction of what exercise "is" and can do for people, broadening the term and notion of "exercise" to include many different forms of physical activity (e.g., gardening, walking) and intensities (Bercovitz, 1998; Fitness Canada, 1991). As well, one of its central tenets is that little bouts of physical activity accrued throughout the day (e.g., ten minutes of walking in the morning, ten minutes in the afternoon, and ten minutes in the evening) can lead to health benefits (Blair & Connelly, 1996; Pollock et al., 1998).

Moreover, a discourse of active living also promotes the notion that physical activity is not just a healthy behavior in and of itself, but is an integral part of a holistic approach to well-being (Fitness Canada, 1991). Thus, such a discourse not only affords those interested in solving the exercise adherence problem the opportunity to broaden the concept of exercise and hence provide people with more opportunities to "exercise", but in so doing, it can also predispose people to more favorable experiences when it comes to exercise and physical activity participation.

If Joan had drawn primarily upon this discourse to make sense of her exercise instead of a discourse of exercise and physical appearance, a discourse of exercise and physiology, and the discourses of the body, she might have recognized that while she wasn't necessarily performing the stricter exercise prescription that is currently promoted for fitness and performance (and implicitly therefore that she was not "adhering" to her exercise regime), she was still gaining important health benefits from her active lifestyle. Similarly, if Joe had also drawn upon this discourse to make sense of why Joan was exercising and her exercise program, he might have acknowledged that Joan already was spending a great deal of time with their children and gaining some health benefits during that time. Additionally, if Joan had drawn upon an active living discourse, when she exercised at the level that she had chosen, she might have also realized that she was still gaining other health benefits of exercise (e.g., improved cardiovascular endurance and decreased risk for heart disease) even though her weight and appearance remained the same. An important effect of all of this would have been that Joan resisted the taken-for-granted notion of what constitutes "adherence" to "exercise" in the first place and opened herself up to experiencing the psychological benefits of other physical activities as well as to the possibility that she already was active.

As well, drawing upon a feminist discourse might also have predisposed Joan to construct reasons for exercise other than to attain the appearance of the fit female form and hence experience more positive psychological outcomes from her stricter exercise regime and less strict active living practices. Reasons for exercise employed within this discourse might have included wanting to exercise in order to experience a sense of accomplishment and empowerment that she is doing something for herself rather than exercising for appearance-sake and for the sake of others. Additionally, she might also have viewed and experienced her post-pregnancy body as strong as a result of having had children and caring for them on a daily basis rather than constructing her post-pregnancy body as overweight, out of shape, and lacking when compared to the "ideal" version of what constitutes femininity.

Perhaps more importantly, drawing upon a discourse such as this to make sense of her exercise and her body might also have made it less likely that Joan experienced the simultaneously empowering and disempowering effects of her exercise regime discussed in the previous section. By drawing upon a different discourse, and hence using different reasons for exercising and having different understandings of what exercise could do for her, Joan would not have been exercising to attain a particular version of what constitutes femininity (and implicitly (re) producing and reifying what constitutes the social body).

Thus, she would have been predisposed to accept her current post-pregnancy body's appearance and in so doing, she would have resisted the patriarchal version (i.e., the social body) of what constitutes femininity (Maguire & Mansfield, 1998; Markula, 1995). Indeed, as Maguire and Mansfield (1998) noted from the findings in their study, "participating in exercise is not the problem. It is the pursuit of the social body that is a negative strategy for women" (pg. 135). This observation is important because it acknowledges the possibility of resistance to the current discourses that surround what exercise can do for people, thereby eliminating the negative effects that result as opposed to simply concluding that the practice of exercise in and of itself is the problem. Thus, drawing upon a feminist discourse to resist the social body might also have afforded Joan the opportunity to avoid engaging in discourses of blame and to have avoided constructing and experiencing her missed exercise sessions as an inherent "lack of control" on her part.

That Joan and her significant others, particularly Joe, made sense of her exercise regime primarily within the discourses of the body and a discourse of exercise and physical appearance rather than the foregoing discourses and hence comes to particular (mis)understandings as to what constitutes exercise and what it can do for her is not surprising. In this regard, it has been noted that in the marketing and promotion of fitness and health, the importance of physical activity for providing physiological (e.g., improved cardiovascular function) and psychological (e.g., improved wellbeing) benefits has been systematically downplayed (Davis, 1997). Instead, there has been a greater emphasis placed on what exercise can *do* for people in terms of physical appearance. Hence, many people, and in particular women, currently view "exercise" as having to consist of particular practices with particular outcomes resulting (e.g., weight loss) in order for it to be considered as "exercise" (Davis, 1997). This also has a moral judgment attached to it in that, if someone is not exercising and/or is exercising but does not look a certain way, they are thought to be lacking in self-control and hence they should be exercising to be more in control of their health status.

Additionally, discourses surrounding research on exercise and physical activity may also perpetuate this notion via the practice of how research findings in women's physical activity and leisure practices versus exercise are reported. For example, in their study exploring motherhood and exercise, Verhoef and Love (1994) reported that "except for physical activity in their daily role responsibilities and mild activity, mothers exercised less than women without children in the present study" (p. 303). They went on to conclude that "although this means that mothers may still get a certain amount of exercise, they might be missing out on many of the potential benefits women attribute to exercising" (Verhoef & Love, 1994, p.303). While this may in fact be true where stricter prescriptions of intensity, duration, and frequency of exercise are concerned, it is also important to remember that "a certain amount of exercise" is still *some activity*, which has been linked to important health benefits (Blair & Connelly, 1996; Bouchard, Shephard & Stevens, 1994; Health Canada, 1998; U.S. Department of Health, 1996) and should therefore be neither negated nor devalued.

Thus, if the goal is to get women who are mothers exercising more often, as was already alluded to, one such means might be to deconstruct this notion of what constitutes exercise in the first place via acknowledging what they are doing, since according to the active living philosophy, this has great potential to move people (e.g., women with children) toward higher frequencies and intensities of exercise (Makosky, 1994). Additionally, if women did not want to or chose not to exercise at higher frequencies and intensities, they would not have to be judged as lacking in control and discipline, and somehow being deficient in what they currently do or do not do. Instead they could acknowledge that they are gaining health benefits from the moderate level of physical activity that they are doing and experience more pleasure when it comes to their physical activity practices. Given this, it should again be noted that while the results of the current case study report and discuss that Joan did not "adhere" to her "exercise" program, it is still acknowledged that Joan *did* engage in less purposeful physical activity that yielded her health benefits.

It should be also be acknowledged that in saying this, I am not suggesting that if Joan wanted to engage in more stringent forms of exercise for fitness and performance related benefits that she should not have. I am merely suggesting that a discourse of active living might have afforded her with other opportunities to be active and spared her some of the distress that she experienced in relation to her more stringent exercise program (Bercovitz, 1998). This researcher is still hopeful that some of the discourses and the broader institutional practices such as those within the health and fitness industry and exercise and health research within which more stringent prescriptions of exercise are constructed and circulated will change so that those who do continue to take up these prescriptions can be predisposed to have more favorable experiences and views of themselves. Thus, it is hoped that despite the title of this dissertation (e.g., "toward an alternative theory of self and identity for investigating and understanding adherence to exercise and physical activity"), the importance of such an active living strategy is neither negated nor undervalued by this study/dissertation.

Despite this suggestion and despite the active living strategy being promoted by Health Canada (1998) and in the Surgeon General's (1996) report on physical activity and health in the United States, for the most part in light of the discourses in popular culture surrounding health and fitness, as well as the social and institutional practices (e.g., ways of speaking about exercise, diet and exercise practices, research practices) that hold these in place, the active living philosophy and the physical activity practices it encourages are likely not widely considered by many people as "real exercise" (Bercovitz, 1998). In this regard, it is worth noting that one of the reasons the active living strategy came about in the first place was in response to the fact that North Americans were still relatively sedentary despite efforts to help them be otherwise. It was thought that a reason for this lack of exercise behavior may in part have been due to stringent exercise prescriptions that emerged in the 1970s that people could not integrate into their lifestyle (Makosky, 1994; Pollock et al., 1998). Thus, the American College of Sports Medicine recently revised their recommendations for the quantity and quality of physical activity to reflect this active living strategy in the hopes that people would increase their physical activity levels in order to accrue the necessary health benefits (Pollock et al., 1998). The effects of such a change will likely take time to take hold, but it is important to note in the context of the theory being employed in this study because one of the reasons this strategy may not be being recognized as "real exercise" is the fact that popular culture emphasizes and values a particular appearance (i.e., outcome) and prescription when it comes to exercise. Stated differently, popular culture circulates and holds in place particular discourses when it comes to exercise.

Regardless, the move toward promoting active living is important to mention here because it is an example of a larger practice taking place at the discursive and the institutional level, which may lead to changing the discourses within which people currently frame their understanding of physical activity and the local practices and individual experiences that result. For now, it can again be noted that by using developments within ethnomethodology and poststructuralism to explore Joan's and her significant others' accounts within and the effects that these had for Joan's experiences and her behavior, we are afforded the opportunity to explore the powerful normalizing thrust of such accounts. In so doing, we gain some understanding and insight into the taken-for-granted when it comes to what people "think" exercise is and can do for them, and the psychological and behavioral effects that this has.

Ultimately we gain an enhanced understanding of what constitutes exercise behavior and hence we are also afforded new possibilities for changing people's behavior from sedentary to more active behavior.

CHAPTER VI

Results Part Two

This chapter will more explicitly explore why Joan did not adhere to her exercise program over the period of the study. Similar to the preceding chapter, in order to accomplish this, the discourses that Joan and her significant others drew upon in order to make sense of her situation will first be outlined. This is important because, in trying to make sense of her situation, Joan, Joe and Ray again drew upon a particular set of discourses with central tenets as to how people should think, feel, and behave. In turn, Joan's identity (and implicitly her lack of exercise behavior) was the product of these conversations within these particular discourses that she and her others had about what her current situation was like and why she could not exercise given her current situation. Moreover, this "current situation" had come into being and continued to be (re) produced in light of these discourses and the behavioral practices they encouraged. This not only had implications for whether or not Joan exercised, but also had implications for whether or not Joan would be able to integrate a regular program of exercise into her life in the future.

Similar to the previous results section, in the course of this discourse analysis, it should be noted that while it was again theoretically possible to identify numerous discourses with which Joan and her significant others made sense of her situation, the discussion has again been limited to three discourses. The reader's attention is also again drawn to the fact that these discourses are not referring to actual entities, but rather continue to be regarded as useful tools that helped in the organization and understanding of the narrative accounts. Additionally, these discourses are also not presented and discussed in order of their appearance in the narratives, nor because one is more important than another.

As in the previous results chapter, a summary table is first provided that outlines the key features of the discourses within which Joan and her significant others made sense of her situation. Table 2 provides this summary.

Table 2

Key features of discourses used for making sense of Joan's situation

Discourse	Key Features
Patriarchal Discourse of the Family	- roles & duties suited to men vis-à-vis women; this this structures the sexual division of labour within the family - family viewed as the natural & basic unit of the social order - family meets individual emotional, sexual & practical needs differently if one is a man or a woman - family has primary responsibility for reproduction & socialization of children - statements construct what constitutes "husband", "wife" & "fatherly" & "motherly" behavior - men suited to work & politics; women suited to domestic labour & childcare - women's needs subordinated to needs of men
Discourse of Motherhood	- statements construct discursive object of "mother", "good mother" & "bad mother" - "mothers" supposed to meet all needs of children & experience self-fulfillment - when women become mothers, motherhood a central part of selfhood - mothers are nurturing, patient, & understanding; can effortlessly take on morning to night practices of childcare
Liberal Feminist Discourse	- equality & opportunity for women & men can be achieved in all areas of life

- offers men & women an alternative space to construct identities as "men", "women", "husband", "wife"
- radical transformation in sexual division of labour required to construct identities differently
- boundaries of "appropriateness" for "mothers" & "fathers" blurred; women can work outside the home, men can help in the home
- stresses women's right to choose & self-determination irrespective of their biology
- sexual division of labour not resultant of biology & natural differences

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The discourses will now be outlined in terms of the ways of thinking, speaking, and the practices that they encourage. Following this, specific accounts from Joan and her significant others will be framed in terms of these discourses and discussed with respect to (a) how Joan and her significant others drew upon them when making sense of Joan's situation, (b) the implications this had for her experiences and identity construction, and (c) why she could not exercise on a regular basis. In order to accomplish this discourses analysis and understand why Joan was unable to adhere to her exercise program, two questions will be explored: why can't Joan exercise at work? and why is work the only time Joan can exercise? Prior to exploring these questions, Joan's history of conversations within particular discourses will also be explored in order to show how and that her current conversations, and hence current situation were the result of this history.

The Patriarchal Discourse of the Family

The central tenet of this discourse is that there are particular roles and duties suited to men vis-à-vis women, the likes of which structure the sexual division of labour within the family. Additionally, within this conservative discourse, the nuclear family is viewed as *the* natural basic unit of the social order, a unit that meets individual emotional, sexual, and practical needs, but in different ways and on different levels depending upon whether one is male or female. As well, the family is thought to have primary responsibility for the reproduction and socialization of children (Nicolson, 1992; Ussher, 1992; Weedon, 1987).

Statements and notions within this discourse construct the meaning of what constitutes a "husband" and what is considered "fatherly" behavior for men, and what constitutes a "wife" and what is "motherly" behavior for women. For men, this means that they are viewed as being more "naturally" suited to the worlds of work and politics. As such, within this discourse men are the heads of the household with their primary duties centering upon providing material needs (e.g., food, clothing, and shelter) for the family, and physical protection for the family. What constitutes a "husband" and what is "fatherly" tends to be tied to attributes such as fortitude, and the ability to govern, control, and provide for women and children. Men are therefore successfully fulfilling their roles within the family, and indeed are more likely to experience fulfillment, when these particular attributes and duties are attained/realized. Within this discourse men are also encouraged to find personal fulfillment outside of the home through work and other practices (e.g., leisure pursuits, time spent with friends).

Women on the other hand are viewed as being "naturally" suited to domestic labour and childcare in light of their ability to nurture, be patient and understanding, and because they are physically weaker than men (Nicolson, 1992). As such, within this discourse, women's needs are subordinated to the needs of men, giving men more power and status within this discourse. And while women might occupy a position of power over children, their primary duties centre upon providing and caring for the emotional needs of others, particularly for those of children, and sacrificing and accommodating their own needs to maintain harmony within the family. Women are therefore best fulfilling their roles within the family and what was naturally intended (e.g., by God, by biology), and hence more likely to experience personal fulfillment, when these particular attributes are realized.

It is in and through this discourse that society is structured and organized in terms of family units that subscribe to the foregoing. This guarantees that social values and skills are defined and reproduced in terms of class and gender which is differentiated (Weedon, 1987). Thus, to be a 'wife' and a 'mother' within the patriarchal discourse of the family is viewed as a woman's primary role and key to self-realization. Moreover, women's femininity is defined in terms of whether or not these roles are taken up and realized. Women who do not take them on as defined within the patriarchal discourse of the family may be viewed as not feminine or as not fulfilling their "true callings" as women.

These ideas and practices are naturalized as facts or common sense in the form of theories (e.g., some biological theories suggest young children need their mothers more than their fathers), customs (e.g., women stay home to care for children when they are young while men are the primary bread winners), and laws (e.g., women receive paid maternity leave; men do not). At the same time, the patriarchal discourse of the family is reified and (re) produced in concrete institutions such as the church, the educational system, medicine and science, social welfare, and the workplace (Fairclough, 1992; Weedon, 1987). Thus, the creation and maintenance of this discourse is important because there are many institutions whose interests it serves. For these reasons, this discourse is one of the most pervasive in western society, and as such, is one of the most resistant to change.

Discourse of Motherhood

A distinctive, though related and compatible, discourse to the foregoing is the discourse of motherhood. This discourse and statements within it construct the discursive object of "mother", and more specifically, what constitutes a "good mother" and a "bad" or "inadequate mother". Within a patriarchal discourse and society, when women have children, they become the objects of this discourse of motherhood. This discourse's central tenet is that "mothers" are supposed to meet all of their children's needs, to care for and stimulate the physical, emotional and psychological development of children, and to experience self-fulfillment and self-actualization in doing so (Nicolson, 1992; Ussher, 1992; Weedon, 1987).

As mentioned in the previous discussion of patriarchal discourse, women can carry out these practices and experience the foregoing because it is for this that they are naturally best suited, and indeed it is this motherhood role that characterizes femininity. This notion of motherhood being tied to femininity is important because within a patriarchal discourse and culture, motherhood becomes central to *all* women's lives, including those women who choose not to become, or delay becoming, mothers:

> In many societies, women are under intense pressure to be mothers, both in the sense of giving birth and in the sense of nurturing; women who do not have children are defined as defective, as are women who are not nurturing to men (Treblicot, 1984, p.1).

Thus, it could be argued that all women are socialized to *be* mothering, and implicitly, to *be* nurturing. As such, the socially constituted practices that define mothering are also employed to define women. This further suggests that when women do become mothers (i.e., they have children) this permeates their existence (i.e., it is an important and central part of women's identity and selfhood). Moreover, there are particular expectations about the attributes they should have, and in particular how they should think, feel, and behave, in relation to motherhood.

For example, a discourse of motherhood within a patriarchal culture regards mothers as nurturing, patient and understanding; hence, they can effortlessly take on the duties of feeding young children in the middle of the night, function on little sleep and less time for themselves, and feel quite fulfilled and happy in doing so. Additionally, because mothers can perform these duties single-handedly, men are not required (nor are they suited) to help out with such duties.

Women who do not have these attributes will be labeled as "unnatural" or "inadequate mothers" (either by themselves or by others). Hence, many women may keep performing these duties, perhaps even taking on more, striving to create and/or maintain their identities as "good mothers". Additionally, some women may suffer in silence, concluding that they are defective mothers and not naturally suited to be parents. Either way, this notion of nurturing and the practices tied to it may condemn the woman who is positioned within these discourses to constant vigilance and guilt (Nicolson, 1992).

These notions also have their basis and are (re) produced in the concrete institutions and practices (e.g., education, medicine and psychiatry) mentioned in the above discussion of the patriarchal discourse of the family, and indeed are reinforced and maintained by the patriarchal discourse of the family itself. Of particular note here is how this discourse appeals to 'sociobiology' (e.g., Dawkins, 1976) for its (re) production of truth and its guarantee of "the way things are" and what is common sense when it comes to motherhood versus fatherhood. In brief, sociobiology suggests that there are natural biological differences between men and women, and this in turn results in forms of behavior and spheres of activity and influence. Thus, women "naturally" invest more time and energy (physical, emotional, and psychological) in their children, and as such are the primary care givers to children and willingly take on their role as "mother". These notions persist, despite historical and cross-cultural evidence that shows the notion of "biological naturalness" as being constituted by social organization and levels of social development (e.g., contraception, infant-feeding formulas, and economic pressures structuring the demand for women's labour) (Weedon, 1987).

Liberal Feminist Discourse

In contrast to the foregoing discourse, the discourse of liberal feminism's central tenet is that equality and opportunity for men and women can be achieved in all spheres of life, though without a radical transformation of the present social or political system (Weedon, 1987). As such, it offers both men and women an alternative space within which to construct their identities as "women", "men", "wives", "husbands", "mothers" and "fathers" that the patriarchal discourse of the family does not (i.e., a patriarchal discourse views what a mother and father are as fixed and unchangeable). However, this discourse asserts that, in order to realize this goal, there will have to be a transformation of the sexual division of labour as defined within patriarchal discourses, which will, among other things, require provision for childcare and domestic labour outside of the nuclear family. This also requires an implicit challenge to and change of the norms regarding what constitutes femininity and masculinity within contemporary culture.

Thus, the boundaries of what constitutes appropriate thoughts, feelings, and behaviors for "mothers" and "fathers", and "husbands" and "wives", are blurred and somewhat denaturalized within the discourse of liberal feminism. As a result, women can perform duties that are traditionally performed by men, such as working outside the home, having a career that is fulfilling, and engaging in other recreational and leisurely pursuits (e.g., spending time with friends, exercise) that contribute toward their self-fulfillment. As well, men can free-up women to enjoy such pursuits by helping out equally with childcare (e.g., changing diapers and feeding babies) and other domestic duties (e.g., cleaning the house, doing laundry, cooking dinner). At the same time, men can also achieve self-fulfillment by engaging in such domestic pursuits and by not being viewed as 'non-masculine' or possessing 'feminine' qualities.

Additionally, this discourse also stresses women's right to choose (e.g., their position and role in family life, having children), and that their self-determination is irrespective of their biology, with a key political objective being to create the material conditions necessary to allow women the pursuit of such self-determination. Thus, an important tenet of this discourse is that the sexual division of labour is *not* the result of biology and natural differences, and that domestic labour and childcare as defined within patriarchal culture constrain the self-development and self-actualization of women. This is largely due to the fact that, within a patriarchal culture, domestic labour is not only devalued and of low status, but also keeps women economically dependent and offers them little choice in the sexual division of labour.

This discourse is also legitimated and held in place by institutional/material bodies and social practices. For example, many workplaces offer flexible work schedules for parents so that they can maintain their careers while they take on various parental duties such as driving children to and from school or daycare. Some workplaces also offer on-site daycare facilities for young children and paternity leave from work for men as well as women. Domestic labour is now recognized as paid work, with people being able to hire domestic labour (e.g., cleaning the house, caring for children in the home) so that one or both parents can work outside of the home and not have to take on a second shift of work upon returning home (see Hochschild, 1989). Developments within science and technology in the form of various contraception methods give women the freedom to choose when and if they have children, while at the same time allowing them to choose to engage in sexual behavior for reasons other than reproducing children. As well, the advent of baby formulas has allowed fathers to be involved in the feeding of young children, and again has freed women to pursue other goals outside of the home. These various institutions and the practices within them transform the family as an institution, offering men and women both the chance to view themselves as parents whose duties within the home are blurred as opposed to viewing themselves as "mothers" and "fathers" whose duties are divided and immutable. Thus, the "family" as constituted within this discourse offers an alternative condition of possibility for self and identity construction, legitimating and reproducing alternative thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of men and women within this discourse.

Joan's Relationship History

As a result of drawing primarily upon the three foregoing discourses, and given that a central tenet of these discourses was that Joan must engage in these childcare and domestic practices in order to maintain the peace and harmony within the family, Joan's identity emerged as that of a mother, who was primarily responsible for her children and as a wife primarily responsible for other domestic duties (e.g., doing laundry, cooking dinner, doing the dishes, cleaning the house). This identity was worked up in and through the conversations she had within these discourses as well as the behavioral practices these discourses encouraged. This is important to note because it suggests that Joan's identity within these discourses also structured the behavioral practices in which Joan and her significant others engaged. In turn, this meant that Joan's own needs (e.g., exercising at work or exercising outside of work) were often subordinated to those of her husband the children. Thus, a very real situation had come into being that was not encouraging of Joan's exercise behavior.

In order to understand and illustrate the foregoing, it useful to first explore Joan's relationship history and the discourses within which it was framed by Joan and Joe. This is because while Joan's identity in the present study was the product of the conversations that Joan had with herself and her significant others about why she could not exercise, these discourses are also grounded in a sedimented history. Joan's and Joe's present conversations were grounded in a history of conversations; they were also the result of a whole history of work and procreation practices that centre upon the family. Thus, these historical practices had "sowed the seeds" over a period of years for how Joan would think, feel, and behave when it came to integrating exercise into her life within the present study.

For example, in the following quote taken from our fourth interview, Joan discusses the history of her and Joe's relationship. In doing so, she draws upon a patriarchal discourse to account for why she had not been able to exercise within the past four weeks on a regular basis:

> Joan: When we were first married the chores were split like 60/40—where I did 60% of the chores, he did 40%. Um (pause) I think, I think I have come to the realization that I was quite naïve. I just kind of think that when I was going into the marriage, my thoughts were, "okay, you go into this marriage and now there's

> these chores and all this stuff –you give 100% of your effort and he'll give a 100% of his effort, and then together you'll get all things that need to get done, done". But if you think about it, in reality if you were to do 100% of the effort, the stuff that needs to be taken care of around the house and everything else, and bills and all that stuff, you could probably do like 80% of it – alone you know? And I think what has happene is, I do 100%, and let's say I've done 70% of it, instead of him giving 100% of his effort, I think he's thinking, "great! She's doing 70%, I'll just do 30" (laughs). I think that's what has happened, he said, "oh okay, I'll just sit back and relax". And I've started talking with some of my girlfriends that men do that! If you do the dishes or like if you make dinner and then there's dishes there, if you just get up and do them, then rarely do they jump in. Now unless you've got a special man who, who sees the other side, he won't jump in and do them, unless you ask him to. But I think if you set the precedent in the beginning, then you don't have to ask him. But I think in the beginning you cook dinner and then you do the dishes, you set the precedent there. And I think that was my mistake and as a result, I'm taking on more and more child care giving.

It would appear that when Joan and Joe originally got married, Joan drew upon a patriarchal discourse, to make sense of and account for her situation. Given that one of the central tenets of this discourse is that there are particular roles and duties suited to men vis-à-vis women, which structure the sexual division of labour, by drawing upon this discourse, Joan's language and behavioral practices centered upon subordinating her own needs to the needs of her husband's. In turn, the effect of this was that peace and harmony within their relationship would be maintained.

For example, within this quote, by drawing upon a patriarchal discourse, Joan's account of her marriage was that, while she did go into the marriage hoping for a more egalitarian arrangement (e.g., "you give 100% of your effort and he'll give a 100% of his effort"). Eventually Joan had inadvertently negotiated, via the conversations she had and may not have had (e.g., Joan said to herself that they would be equal but she did not say this Joe), an arrangement where she was doing more of the domestic work. We can recognize too that Joe was likely drawing upon a patriarchal discourse to work up his own identity as a husband, as well as to work up an identity that he had of Joan as a wife. Given that this division of labour early in their marriage was itself a product of patriarchal discourses, he did not help out with household chores early on their marriage and engaged in other behavioral practices instead (e.g., leisure pursuits such as relaxing and watching television).

In drawing upon a patriarchal discourse, Joan thus kept the notion in place and reified it as "fact", that there is "men's work" and there is "woman's work" within a marriage. Moreover she did this inadvertently in and through her own language and behavioral practices (e.g., she did the dishes while Joe relaxed and did not ask him for help, having conversations with herself that he should be helping, but not asking him for that help). What we also see within this particular conversational account is that when drawing upon this discourse, in light of its central tenet that woman are more naturally suited to domestic tasks than men, Joan's account was such that, if Joe were to help out, this would amount to him doing her a favor (e.g., "Now unless you've got a special man who, who sees the other side, he won't jump in and do them, unless you ask him to"). Thus, men who would be willing to help out would be the exception rather than the rule because this is "the way men are", and if she had wanted Joe to help out, *she* should have to set the precedent in the beginning (i.e., it was her responsibility to ask for such favors rather than Joe's responsibility to offer to help because Joe would not do this on his own as men are naturally not like this).

Additionally, this quote also suggests that Joan has had conversations in the past, that contribute toward the conversations Joan has in the present with friends who also drew upon similar discourses to make sense of their situations. As such, Joan's friends subtly reinforced Joan's ideas, ways of speaking, and behaviors surrounding the "fact" that men aren't really naturally suited to help out and that women are better suited to such tasks (e.g., "And I've started talking with some of my girlfriends that men do that! If you do the dishes or like if you make dinner and then there's dishes there, if you just get up and do them, then rarely do they jump in"). Moreover, because her friends likely drew upon similar discourses, they did not provide any resistance to how Joan viewed herself in relation to her current situation, thereby reinforcing Joan's conversational accounts, ways of behaving, and responsibilities within the home (and implicitly her identity as a wife) *inadvertently* through their own use of language within the patriarchal discourses she drew upon.

Lest it be unclear, the point of this quote is ultimately to illustrate that in light of these conversations that took place in the past between Joan and herself, Joan and her friends, and Joan and Joe, when Joan had children, her identity emerged as that of a mother who was the primary caregiver to those children. This identity emerged via the childcare practices and conversations that she engaged in, in the present. In other words, given the history of such conversations within particular discourses which resulted in a particular male/female division of labour early in their marriage, Joan had inadvertently negotiated an unequal division of labour in their marriage, and therefore continued to subordinate her own needs not only to her husband's but to her children's as well. And this continued because, according to the patriarchal discourse that she continued to draw upon, it goes without saying that once children come along, men (i.e., Joe) cannot help out as much as women because, as with household chores, they are not naturally suited to such tasks.

In turn, when it came to exercising, Joan habitually uttered phrases to herself and/or others that contained particular reasons for not exercising, such as having to care for her children or not having the time because of childcare duties. Her behaviors therefore tended to be those that were first and foremost in the service of maintaining harmony and structure within the family as opposed to behaviors that might encourage exercise. In this way, Joan's identity emerged as that of a mother primarily responsible for her children in and through her language and behavioral practices which continually centered upon the family. Therefore, this identity and the discourses within which it was worked up structured Joan's behavior (e.g., "And I think that was my mistake and as a result, I'm taking on more and more child care giving") as well as Joe's behavior (e.g., he did not help out or only helped out a minimal amount) in a particular way. In turn, a very real situation in which the children needed their mother had come into being, and thus Joan continued to oblige lest she not fulfill her duties as a mother and therefore be perceived as a bad mother.

This will be discussed and illustrated more explicitly shortly. For now, what can be inferred from all of this is that, in light of the conversations that took place within patriarchal discourses in the past, Joan's situation when taking up exercise in the current study was that she had the majority of the responsibility for the children. Given this, we can now see why Joan's "typical day" outlined earlier consisted of her taking the children to and from daycare or to her mother's or mother-in-law's, and also caring for the children in the evening (e.g., feeding them, putting them to bed). Additionally, given the discourses within which these behaviors within her and Joe's relationship had been negotiated, this was not Joe's typical day. He instead went to work and did not have the responsibility of taking the children or picking up the children. Joe also did not help out with the majority of childcare duties after work, although he did care for their eldest son mainly in the form of playing with him. This is one way in which both he and Joan have *conceded* or negotiated (i.e., he does Joan a favor by playing with the boys so she can get other things done in the house) that he can help out. Given that Joan also put in a full eight hour day at work, she therefore set the following parameters when it came to taking up her exercise program: exercising would consist of running on a treadmill at work during lunch time. Evenings and weekends were excluded as times to exercise due to family responsibilities. Joan therefore had only one window of time in which to fit her chosen program of exercise (i.e., one hour per day, five days per week, Monday through Friday, at her place of work).

Why Can't Joan Exercise At Work?

In light of the foregoing, Joan reached her goal of exercising three times per week, a minimum of 20 minutes per session, only for the first four weeks of the study. After four weeks, Joan's exercise behavior at work became sporadic (e.g., one time per week and then not all for one week and then resumed to one time per week) and eventually she did not exercise at all for the remaining four weeks of the study. But Joan had set aside her lunch hours at work to exercise so that it would not interfere with her children and family time. Given this, Joan should have been able to exercise, since her exercise was on her work time and did not detract from her responsibilities at home. So why, then, did she not exercise at work on her lunch time consistently if she had accommodated her schedule in a way that would allow her to still exercise and care for her children?

Further discourse analysis can help us to better understand how this situation came into being, how and why it was maintained (i.e., not renegotiated), and why Joan was therefore unable to exercise at work on a regular basis. There were three main things that came up in this regard. The first of these was that on some occasions Joan did have the time to exercise at work but was too tired to exercise. The second of these was that on other occasions Joan could not exercise at lunch time because that time was unavailable due to her lack of flexible working hours and work place conflicts. And finally, the third point was that while her exercise partner Ray should have or could have provided the impetus for Joan's exercise, he did not do so. Each of these points will be explored and discussed in turn.

Being Too Tired to Exercise

There were two main reasons why Joan had become too tired to exercise at work, the likes of which can be framed in terms of the discourses that Joan and Joe drew upon to make sense of that situation (i.e., that Joan was too tired to exercise) and the fact that Joan's identity emerged as that of a working mother primarily responsible for her children. The first of these reasons is that, throughout the weeks of the study, Joan's workload had increased. Part of the reason Joan's workload had increased was due to her oldest child's sleeping schedule being disrupted for a variety of reasons. Because her mother-in-law's let Stephen nap as often as he wanted, he was not sleeping until later at night. Another reason this occurred was that Joan had had to attend a conference for work and had brought her oldest son and husband along. This had resulted in a disruption in Stephen's regular sleeping pattern/schedule. Compounding this lack of sleep problem for her son was that in the tenth week of the study Joan had gone on vacation with her sons. This vacation had resulted in her son's sleeping schedule being further disrupted and in Joan lacking sleep during her vacation and upon her return from vacation.

Given that Joan primarily drew upon a patriarchal discourse of the family and a discourse of motherhood to make sense of this situation, Joan's reaction to this situation was not to ask others for help (e.g., her husband, her mother-in-law). Instead, her reaction to the situation was to set aside her own wants and needs and take time off of work throughout the twelve weeks of the study in order to engage in a variety of behaviors that she hoped would alleviate her son's sleeping problem. These included searching for another day care so that her mother-in-law would not have Stephen for as many days a week, taking days off of work to stay at home in order to reinstate her son's sleeping schedule, and staying up late to try and get him to sleep. However, by drawing upon these discourses to make sense of the situation and thus correctly understanding herself (and herself alone) to be responsible for getting her son back on a proper sleeping schedule, she continued to be too tired to exercise at work, or to not be at work to exercise at all.

An important effect of this was that Joan's identity as first and foremost a mother who is responsible for her children's needs was worked up by her in and through the conversations she had about why she could not exercise and the behavioral practices that she engaged in (e.g., she said that she had to get her son back on a sleeping schedule, therefore she took days off work, and therefore she did not exercise at work), as natural and unchangeable. Thus, rather than questioning the situation and renegotiating it in a way that might have made her less tired and overwhelmed, and hence breaching the conventions of these discourses which say that children need their mothers and mothers are primarily responsible for the children, she instead continued to experience her situation as being responsible for her children and to engage in particular behaviors. In turn, the language practices and behaviors that were encouraged tended to be those that centered upon the children and the family or were an outcome of the childcare duties that she had been performing.

It was also difficult for her to experience the situation differently and frame it within discourses that might have encouraged her to ask for help (e.g., a liberal feminist discourse) because the daycare practices of her mother-in-law also inadvertently reinforced Joan's mother-identity as natural and hence an immutable structure/entity within her. If we recall that a central tenet of the patriarchal discourse of the family is that women should be in the home caring for the children, what we see is that her mother-in-law's childcare practices were lending credence to this "fact". Thus, Joan was experiencing that it is difficult for women to work and be primarily responsible for children; therefore she viewed herself as a woman who perhaps should be in the home caring for the children.

A quote taken from our follow-up interview (i.e., at week sixteen) is illustrative of the foregoing because it shows how Joan drew upon a patriarchal discourse and a discourse of motherhood to make sense of her situation. In turn, it also shows how, in drawing upon these discourses, she experienced her situation as fixed and unchangeable in light of the "fact" that these discourses suggest that it goes without saying that mothers should be in the home caring for their children:

> Joan: You know like I guess my first choice right now would be to work out at work, during my lunch hour, that would be my first choice to do it then. Then I don't feel so bad about my kids you know that I'm taking time away from them. Um if it comes to the point where I have no choice there then I would have no choice but to—I think working out is still important—so I would look to doing it at home somehow and see how I feel about that. Whether I would feel guilty that yeah taking time away from the kids. You know I've had lots of thoughts of, "maybe I should just quit my job" (laughs) and just stay at home, there's too many things to do, there's too many things to do, to try and take care of I guess as a working mother. I've had thoughts of that. Cause then you'd have more time to sort of fit everything in, I don't know.

Additionally, an important effect of Joan primarily drawing up these particular discourses to make sense of her situation was that Joan storied herself as being "overworked" and "tired", and implicitly worked up her mother-identity via the use of these particular terms. And indeed, in light of the fact that this situation had come partly into being via Joan's history of language and behavioral practices and the practices of her mother-in-law, Joan *was* tired and overworked.

Thus in addition to Joan's excuses/reasons for not exercising centering upon the family and the children, related excuses/reasons that she employed to not exercise at work were that she was "overworked", "stressed" and "tired". This had further resulted in her taking more time off of work to try to recuperate. When this happened, she indicated that the notion of exercise had not even entered her mind. This illustrates that Joan viewed her exercise as an option or an add-on that could only be performed if it did not interfere with her duties as a mother. However, in this case, given the work and childcare demands being placed upon Joan, structuring her exercise as an option meant that there were likely times when she did not even have a conversation with herself about exercising. Thus, her exercise at work did not take place at all.

An illustration of the aforementioned comes from a story that Joan told during our third interview in the eighth week of the study, about how her son's lack of sleep had been affecting her:

> Interviewer: So how did you feel about missing exercise?
>
> Joan: On Thursday I was tired (pause) you know when I'm tired I can kind of you know do different things, change my work a little bit, just to you know keep

> awake. But when I get really tired I guess my senses are – I'll either feel nauseous of I'll start getting stomach pains (pause) So I thought, "you know I gotta get him on this schedule cause this is nuts!"—I can't operate on five hours of sleep you know every night, I can't do that so (pause) I didn't even give my exercise a thought because I was tired, I was tired.

She also linked being "tired" to other aspects of her physical condition that she had experienced such as feeling "nauseous", having "stomach pains", and lacking "sleep". These too were acceptable reasons that Joan had used to not exercise at work. Moreover, they were acceptable because they were linked to her duties as a mother (e.g., having been up late the night before with Stephen). However, all of this is not to suggest that Joan was not actually tired or was not experiencing physical ailments as a result of her current situation. Rather, the point is that given that Joan continued to draw upon a patriarchal discourse of the family and a discourse of motherhood to make sense of her situation, a particular situation had come into being for her.

That situation was that her son was lacking sleep and she was feeling responsible for that because, given these discourses that she continued to draw upon, she correctly understood herself to be responsible for that. She therefore strove in and through her own talk and behavior to alleviate this rather than asking others for help or suggesting that they perhaps alter their schedule and how they did things with her children (e.g., her husband, her mother-in-law). In the end, she was tired and overworked and this had affected her ability to perform work and to exercise at work.

Joan's situation, the experiences she had, and the behaviors she engaged in become even more complex if we consider the fact that, while Joan habitually draws upon a patriarchal discourse and a discourse of motherhood, Stephen is tired, at least in part, because Joan has abdicated some of the responsibilities associated with being a mother within a patriarchal discourse. While Joan strove to be a good mother in and through her talk and her childcare practices, the fact is, she was working rather than staying at home and looking after the children full time. Thus, she does have some liberties and is not giving everything to her children so that she can also have a career. However, by drawing upon a patriarchal discourse and a discourse of motherhood to make sense of her current situation, she was predisposed to experience more guilt and distress over having chosen to have that career and not stay at home full time. This in part explains why Joan may have willingly taken on this second shift of work at home in addition to her work shift; i.e., she felt guilty and responsible for her son's sleeping and feared being labeled a bad mother because she was also working full time.

The second reason that Joan was too tired to exercise at work was because all of the foregoing was overshadowed by the fact that Joe was not contributing toward helping out with Stephen's lack of sleep problem by virtue of the identity he worked up of Joan as a mother who was the primary caregiver to the children. Additionally, he also worked up his own identity as a father in and through his talk and behavioral practices in relation to the identity that he worked up of Joan within a patriarchal discourse of the family. This, combined with Joan's own construction of her identity as a mother, meant that the social climate within their family was constructed as one in which Joan performed particular duties and Joe performed other duties. The duties that she performed were those related to the children (e.g., comforting them, changing diapers, and feeding them) and other domestic chores (e.g., cooking dinner, doing laundry, and cleaning the house). The duties that Joe performed were those related to providing for the household (e.g., working outside of the home to bring in money). If he did help out with the children it was minimal and limited to him playing with their three-year-old son.

All of this ultimately meant that the children wanted to be with Joan. This made it difficult for Joan to ask Joe to take the children in the evening so she could rest because they would cry for her and she would be predisposed to feel guilty, since the discourse of motherhood that she also drew upon to make sense of this situation suggests that women who do not act selflessly as the primary caregivers for their children are bad and selfish mothers. Additionally, because Joe drew upon a patriarchal discourse of the family to make sense of the situation, he was reluctant to offer to take the children off Joan's hands so that she might rest in the evenings after work because he saw that his sons were distressed while she was gone. And we must also recall that this situation had arisen in the first place in light of Joan's and Joe's reliance on a patriarchal discourse early in their relationship, which structured the sexual division of labour within their home. In turn, this had laid the groundwork for the division of labour that has taken place where the children are concerned, and thus Joe's and Joan's behavior as well their language practices were grounded in a history of discursive practices. Thus, the behavior of the children with Joe (e.g., they would cry if left with him) versus the behavior of the children with Joan (e.g., they were content when left with her) further reinforced Joe's behavioral practices (e.g., to not help out) and Joe's accounts (e.g., to say that the boys wanted their mother and not him). In short, the patriarchal discourse of the family that he drew upon whose central tenet is that babies need their mothers, and that fathers are simply not well-suited to such tasks for this reason, not only predisposed Joe to not help out with such tasks and to not offer such help, but the children *did* indeed cling to Joan.

While this had not been problematic for Joan's exercise behavior within the first four weeks of they study, because Joan had structured her exercise to take place at work, given the increased demands placed upon Joan, this lack of asking for help on Joan's part combined with Joe's reluctance to offer was now contributing toward Joan's inability to adhere to her exercise program at work because Joan was becoming tired from performing "the second shift".

To illustrate, consider the following narrative of Joe's from our second interview during the twelfth week of the study in which he was asked how he thought Joan's program had been affecting others (i.e., the family):

> Joe: When Stephen's tired, he wants to be cuddled or whatever and it's gotta be Joan. When he's tired he starts getting whiny whatever and you can't console him. The only one that can console him is her I mean, like that's Joan. So I mean in the evenings it's Joan and that's basically that puts him to sleep and she'll do whatever it takes until he falls asleep. And then once she's got the other one down or whatever then David needs to be taken care of. And David's the same way when he gets cranky he wants to be with mom and go to bed or whatever. So like I said, it makes it really tough for her to basically have time and alone and like I said our kids, they don't go to bed until 10 or 11 o'clock or whatever and by then, she's exhausted, so she can't exercise after that.

This extract illustrates how Joe drew upon a patriarchal discourse of the family and a discourse of motherhood to make sense of Joan's lack of exercise behavior. In so doing, he worked up an identity of Joan as a mother which centered upon Joan being a better and more well-suited caregiver to the children (e.g., "The only one that can console him is her I mean, like that's Joan. So I mean in the evenings its Joan and that's basically that puts him to sleep and she'll do whatever it takes until he falls asleep"). He also implicitly worked up his own identity as a husband and father in relation to Joan's identity as a mother. Specifically, he worked up his own identity, and implicitly what he could and could not do in this situation, by employing words and concepts within this conversational account that related to how the children naturally responded to Joan (e.g., "he wants to be cuddled or whatever and it's gotta be Joan. When he's tired he starts getting whiny whatever and you can't console him").

In turn, Joe was predisposed to conclude that Joan could not and did not exercise at work because she was tired. However, this was not because he did not help out; it was because the children naturally wanted to be with Joan (and as mentioned given how Joe and Joan had structured the situation early on, they did want to be with Joan). He used this notion of "time" to work up her identity as a mother, linking all her "time" to being spent with the children and not on her self (i.e., exercising). Additionally, because this situation was itself a product of patriarchal discourses, Joe also used this notion of her being "tired" (or in this case "exhausted") to work up the identity of Joan as a mother. As such, he inadvertently reinforced childcare duties that resulted in her being tired as an acceptable reason for Joan not to exercise at work. Moreover, this situation in which there was a particular male/female division of labour within the family continued to be reproduced in and through Joe's and Joan's talk and behavioral practices that were framed within these discourses.

Thus, this extract taken from Joe's narratives during our second interview illustrates that in light of how Joe drew upon particular discourses to make sense of Joan's lack of exercise behavior at work (and implicitly work up identities of himself as a father and of Joan as mother), he did not frame the situation in a way that might have been more conducive to Joan's exercise behavior (i.e., in way that might have made her less responsible for the children and therefore less tired at work). Had he drawn upon a liberal feminist discourse to make sense of this situation and implicitly work up Joan's identity and his own identity as parents as opposed to 'mother' and 'father', the behavioral practice that could have resulted was him getting up at night to help get the boys to sleep or him offering to take care of them in the evening so Joan could rest. Of course, simply drawing upon this discourse might still prove difficult to change given the reaction of the boys (i.e., that they cling to Joan), and in turn how Joan reacted (e.g., feeling guilty) because he had not been helping out with them from the outset. However, had both Joan and Joe recognized that these reactions from the boys were not necessarily the result of nature and women being naturally suited to such tasks, but rather, how they had come to draw upon and use a limited repertoire of discourses, they might eventually be able to alleviate this problem.

Unfortunately, in light of the fact that Joan and Joe continued to draw upon a limited repertoire of discursive resources, Joan continued to engage in ways of speaking and childcare practices which had the effect of reinforcing her identity as that of a mother who was first and foremost responsible for her children. Joe continued to reinforce Joan's behavioral practices and ways of speaking which centered upon the family and childcare by drawing upon similar discourses and thus not providing resistance to the central tenets of these discourses. This lack of resistance on Joe's part was accomplished in and through the identity he worked up of Joan as a mother and himself as a father within the patriarchal discourses of the family, as well as the practices in which he engaged (e.g., not helping out with the children in the evening, perhaps watching television or sleeping through their son's cries).

The foregoing further compounded the problems that Joan was experiencing in the work place (e.g., work load increasing, conflict with her boss) because she was missing days of work due to lacking sleep. As a result, when she was at work, she was having a difficult time concentrating and getting things done. Thus, the work piled up even more and Joan no longer had the time to exercise. While this is going to be discussed in the next section, for now it can be noted that this became a somewhat vicious cycle where Joan would no longer exercise at lunch despite having the time to do so and would stay late after work in order to make up the lost work time. This had the further effect of her picking up her son late from her mother-in-law who kept letting him sleep past six p.m., which had resulted in her son being up past one a.m. The outcome was that Joan continued not to get enough sleep so she engaged in behaviors to try to alleviate the problem of her son's sleeping schedule such as those mentioned, thereby perpetuating the cycle.

An important outcome/effect of the foregoing was that, in addition to not being able to exercise at work due to be too tired, Joan was experiencing distress, frustration, and resentment in relation to her current life situation. Indeed, in the twelfth week of the study, during our fourth interview, Joan drew upon a liberal feminist discourse to make sense of her situation. In doing so, she thought, spoke, and behaved from the socially constructed position of a wife and mother who was somewhat oppressed. In turn, she was predisposed to experience frustration and resentment that Joe would not help out with the children to alleviate some of the demands and pressures she was facing as a result of her increased workload and the sleeping schedule of their son. This would be in contradiction to what the patriarchal discourse of the family and the discourse of motherhood would suggest she should be experiencing (i.e., that she willingly take on her mother-role and duties and be self-fulfilled).

A specific illustration of this comes from a story Joan told about why she had not asked Joe to help out more so that she could exercise at night or on the weekends when she had missed her exercise sessions at work:

> Joan: So I do more childcare definitely than he does. And when I start getting tired, I get a little angry about these things (pause) how come I'm the one doing all these things? Where are you?
>
> Interviewer: And how does Joe react?
>
> Joan: Well I haven't exactly confronted him on this one yet because what I've been doing is slowly I've been asking him to do more and more and more. Like

> even last night the kids um (pause) he hasn't had to (pause) what we do for bath time is I will bathe both of the kids, they both like playing in the bath tub together, so I will bathe both of them. Then I will bring David out and I will you know dry him off and get him changed and then I will call Joe and he will come and get Stephen um and so he brings Stephen out and dries him off. Well he hasn't had to do that for two weeks so then um yesterday it was bath time and I said, "okay well it's you know…". So I do it and I get David out and then I come down and I says, "will you go get Stephen?" and he didn't say anything. And so I said, "will you go get Stephen?" and he didn't say anything and he just sits there on the couch you know? (laughs). Watching t.v. and so I thought, "well I'm not going to get Stephen" you know because I thought alright this is gonna set…If I get him then he's gonna want me to get him next time, he's just gonna do this again. Of course, this is just in the nature of men or so I'm discovering (laughs).

Joan made sense of this particular situation by drawing upon several different discourses. First, she drew upon a patriarchal discourse of the family to work up Joe's identity as a husband and father and to make sense of how he behaved in that situation (e.g., "So I do more childcare definitely than he does", "And so I said, "will you go get Stephen?" and he didn't say anything and he just sits there on the couch you know?"). In working up this identity of him she also worked up her own identity as a wife and mother within similar discourses, talking about how she was doing the majority of the childcare (e.g., "I will bathe both of the kids"). However, she also made sense of this situation by drawing upon a liberal feminist discourse. As a result, Joan's reaction to this situation was that she storied Joe as not contributing equally toward the childcare duties, and she storied herself as unfairly performing the majority of these tasks saying, "so I do more childcare definitely than he does".

An important effect of this was that she experienced frustration and resentment in relation to the childcare duties that she was performing because a central tenet of a liberal feminist discourse is that men can help out with such duties to free women up for other pursuits. Joan's frustration and resentment was further compounded by the fact that Joe continued to be resistant to helping out in this particular situation because the groundwork for his behavior and the accounts he made in relation to it had been laid down repeatedly in the past. Thus, it was now difficult for Joan to change this situation in light of the male/female division of labour within the family being a product of the sedimentation of history.

Thus, within a liberal feminist discourse, Joan worked up her mother-identity as that of a mother who was not fulfilled in this situation (and implicitly experienced resentment) by working up an identity she had of Joe as a father within a patriarchal discourse. She did this by saying, "when I start getting tired, I get a little angry about these things (pause) how come I'm the one doing all these things? Where are you?". Thus, she used words and terms such as "tired" and "angry" to work up her identity as a mother who was still primarily responsible for her children, but by drawing upon this liberal feminist discourse, that mother identity was worked up in and through her accounts as oppressed in this situation. In doing so, she resisted the central tenet of the discourse of motherhood that says that women should/must willingly take on all the domestic and childcare duties and feel self-fulfilled in doing so.

Clearly, by drawing upon a liberal feminist discourse, Joan was not experiencing herself as a self-fulfilled mother who selflessly takes on all her childcare duties. Instead, she was reacting to the situation with anger and resentment towards Joe for not helping out when her increased workload and problems with her son's sleeping schedule had placed additional pressure on her. She also reacted to this situation by trying to get him to help out with the children's bath time in and through the practices she engaged in this situation (e.g., she asked him to help, she did not take her son out of the bath tub) in light of the fact that a liberal feminist discourse blurs the boundaries between what 'mothers' and 'fathers' are and can do within the family.

However, this extract also illustrates that, given Joe's reaction in this situation (i.e., he resisted helping bathe the children), Joe likely continued to habitually draw upon a patriarchal discourse of the family to work up Joan's identity as a mother and his own as a husband and father. Thus, he did not employ another discursive resource as Joan had to reframe the situation differently. An important effect of this was that, while Joan attempted to ask Joe to help, his reaction to the situation was to not help out, ignoring and resisting her requests. In turn, she experienced a great deal of distress and frustration over her current family situation and the behaviors in which she was engaging (e.g., bathing the children by herself) and the behaviors in which Joe was engaging (e.g., watching television instead).

Moreover, another important effect of this was that Joan's performance of particular duties and Joe's performance of particular duties within the household had not led to their relationship being one of harmony as the patriarchal discourse of the family would suggest. Instead, by virtue of drawing upon a liberal feminist discourse and working up her identity as a mother differently (e.g., as angry and resentful), Joan was able to conclude and experience that because she was performing the majority of the childcare practices, she was being mistreated. Thus, Joan viewed their marital relationship as one in which there was a large imbalance in the housework and childcare duties, as perhaps she had done earlier on in their marriage. Only now, in light of the fact that she drew upon a liberal feminist discourse to do so, she attempted to change Joe's behavior in and through her own behavior and language practices (e.g., she kept asking Joe for help with the children and not give in until he did). An important effect of this was that there were conflicts and power struggles between her and Joe.

This becomes even more complex when we consider that at the same time, in contradiction to the foregoing, Joan continued to frame Joe's identity and the situation within a patriarchal discourse of the family. Given the prevalence of this discourse and its appeal to common sense where the differences between men and women are concerned, ultimately Joan concluded that Joe's behavior (i.e., his reluctance to help out) was simply due to his "nature" (e.g., "of course this is in the nature of men"). Such an appeal to the taken for granted (i.e., that Joe's behavior is natural) reinforced their identities as a "mother" and a "father", as well as the choices they both made when it came to domestic duties within the household, as unchangeable. This made it that much harder for Joan to get Joe to help out with the children, and also for her to ask him to do so; i.e., she typically suffered in silence. It also meant that Joan and Joe were less likely to question the situation and attempt to renegotiate it in a way that might have been more conducive for Joan's exercise behavior.

Thus, despite Joan's attempts to negotiate Joe's behavior differently by drawing upon a liberal feminist discourse, because she continued to primarily frame who he was within a patriarchal discourse of the family and he continued to do the same where both himself and Joan were concerned, she ended up not renegotiating the situation and therefore did not breach the conventions of these patriarchal discourses as to how she should think, speak, and behave. For example, despite her frustration and anger at Joe for not helping out with bath time, in order to get him to help with bath time and other childcare duties, she chose not to ask Joe to watch the children so she could exercise. In this regard she again put the family as coming first as opposed to her exercise saying, "I think because I'm trying to get him to do a lot of other stuff too and I guess I kind of feel like I can't ask for ten things. So I'd rather just work out here at work if I can". However, as mentioned, "working out here" (i.e., at work) had not been possible because she was too tired to exercise given her workload and daycare problems and the fact that her husband was not helping out at home.

Flex Time, Workplace Conflicts, and Lack of Exercise Time

Another reason for Joan's lack of exercise behavior at work was that there were often times that she could not exercise at work because that time was not available due to other shifts that took place within the social climate of her workplace. In other words, there were times when Joan wanted and was willing to exercise on her lunch time but time was not available for exercise. In particular, by our third interview (i.e., week eight) Joan had indicated that in addition to her workload increasing, the social climate in her workplace was becoming one of mistrust. As a result, she felt that she had to make sure that co-workers did not perceive the time she was taking off of work to perform the aforementioned childcare practices as interfering with her work. Joan indicated that one of the reasons for the mistrust in her workplace was that the management style of her boss had changed. In this regard, Joan's boss began to question Joan's work ethic and whether or not she was putting in a full day of work. In this regard, Joan indicated that her boss would observe her coming in late due to having been out searching for daycares or having been up late with her son the night before. Her boss had made it clear to her that the typical workday within their office was from 8:30 am until 4:30 p.m. This, coupled with the increased workload and her son's sleeping schedule, meant that Joan's window of exercise time was even narrower.

The foregoing was significant for Joan's identity construction and lack of exercise behavior at work because one of the reasons Joan had been afforded the possibility of exercising at work in the first place was because the climate of her workplace was structured such that individual employees were on flex time. What this meant for Joan was that she could be up late at night performing childcare duties (e.g., trying to get Stephen to sleep) and also take the children to either grandmothers' house or to daycare the following morning. If she came in to work later than 8:30, she could still fit in her exercise session by making up this time by staying at work later. Alternatively, she could also exclude her exercise and not take a lunch break in order to catch up on missed work, still leaving work on time if necessary. In effect, this notion/concept of flex time that was practiced in Joan's work place allowed Joan to maintain her identity as a good mother within patriarchal discourses and a discourse of motherhood. In turn, she could perform her work duties and perform her duties related to the children and the family, which further maintained and worked up this identity. The concept of flex time also allowed her to take up exercise as a practice in the first place (since she could not exercise outside of work) and begin integrating a regular program of exercise into her life.

However, when that flex time became threatened, so too was Joan's identity as a good mother. This, combined with what had been going on with her son's sleeping schedule and all the effects that had resulted (e.g., her lack of sleep, taking time off work, workloads increasing), meant that Joan could no longer perform these childcare practices without guilt and worry about her duties at work, still exercise on her lunch hour, and in turn, how others would view her.

An important effect of this was that in order to avoid the guilt, anxiety and distress associated with the work and childcare practices in which she had been engaging, Joan's reaction to the situation was to capitulate. Joan was predisposed to do so because she drew upon a patriarchal discourse of the family and a discourse of motherhood to make sense of the situation.

At the same time, given that Joe continued to work up an identity he had of Joan as a mother and his own identity as a husband and father within similar discourses, he would not help out with Stephen's sleep problem, nor would Joan ask him to help out.

Thus, given that the central tenets of these discourses are that women should make sacrifices for the good of the family, Joan's behavior in this situation was to choose to give up her exercise at work and any possibility of fitting it in outside of work.

Ultimately, this meant that the notion of flex time or losing flex time ended up being used by Joan as an acceptable reason to not exercise at work. In this way, the concept of "time" was employed by Joan in a variety of ways to work up an identity of herself as a hard working mother, who placed her family's needs first. In turn, Joan's reasons continued to prioritize work duties over exercise so that she could perform her childcare duties outside of work. Thus, an effect of using the concept of "time" (e.g., "overtime", "flex time") to work up her identity as a hard working mother and as reasons to avoid exercise was that Joan was policing her behavior at work and hence not exercising on her lunch hour.

An illustration of this comes from our fourth interview during which Joan not only used her "work time" (or lack of flex time) as a reason to avoid exercise, but she also used it to make sense of how she felt about her exercise:

> Joan: I've been working on something and then I don't want to interrupt the flow, I don't wanna put it down, I just wanna continue working and get it done. And then if something else pops up or whatever then if I'm doing this work or whatever, next thing you know its like 3:30. Then I don't feel like working out anymore. You know it's like sometimes it can happen like that. Its like okay, well its too late now I don't wanna work out now, I can't work out now.

Thus, Joan's excuses to not to exercise centered upon placing work first. Considered within the context that Joan and Joe worked up her identity as a mother primarily responsible for her children and that Joan was therefore striving in and through her talk and her behavior to alleviate her son's sleeping problems, these excuses to work instead of exercise were also implicitly linked to this identity construction. For example, as outlined in the previous section, in placing her child's needs first, Joan's workload had increased. Moreover, given that her flex time had also been taken away, Joan imagined that her boss now had an identity of her as an inefficient worker. This meant that she would therefore have to perform work instead of exercise, not only to still be able to leave work early to go and pick up her children, but also so that she might avoid future conflicts with her boss.

Overshadowing this notion of lacking "time" at work to exercise was again the fact that Joan had structured her exercise from the outset of the study as having to take place within a narrow window of time. This structuring of her exercise within this narrow time frame was also reinforced by Joe. This will be explored within the next section with respect to why work was the only time Joan could exercise. For now, suffice it to say that Joan and Joe were predisposed to view and structure Joan's exercise in this manner in light of the fact that they had worked up her identity as a mother as some "thing" that was unchangeable and to be worked around. However, now that the social climate at Joan's place of work was such that she was not afforded that possibility of exercising at work, Joan had given up her exercise because her duties tied to being a mother were viewed as fixed and therefore were not optional. This meant that Joan's exercise behavior was optional and could and should therefore be given up in light of the circumstances. Moreover, she did this in order to avoid conflicts with her boss whose rigid management style had led to her losing her flexible working hours.

In conjunction with what was discussed earlier (i.e., Joan's increased workload and problems with her son's sleeping schedule), these workplace practices and conflicts with her boss and the identity she imagined her boss worked up of her as an inefficient worker, meant that not only did Joan speak in terms of the time being unavailable to exercise, she actually did not have the time available to exercise. Thus, Joan continued to employ the concept of "time" as a reason to avoid exercise and perform work instead. A specific illustration of this comes from my fourth interview with Joan in the twelfth week of the study during which Joan was asked to again expand on how work was impeding her exercise in the previous weeks:

> Interviewer: So earlier you said that your boss was affecting your exercise, can you tell me some more about that?
>
> Joan: Obviously she's a time watcher, even though she says we're on flex time and all this stuff, it made me think and it made me think, "I wonder is she's watching the time while we're exercising (pause) and I'd better make sure that I'm back in time". Because sometimes I might go a little longer? Like I might cool down a little longer and then I take a shower, so then I might begin at 10 minutes later. You know, so an hour and 10 minutes? And with my previous job you know that was never a concern (pause) I've done so much overtime there and that's why I've never been concerned because I've done so much over time here that an extra 10 minutes for my shower. But now I'm thinking if she's a time watcher, I'd better watch, and I'd better make sure I'm back here and I better make sure that I don't take too long of a cool down or whatever so yeah.

This extract is important because it illustrates that Joan continued to use "time" as an acceptable reason to avoid exercise. Moreover, given the managerial practices of her boss, she did not have the time at work available for her exercise on her lunch hour. This extract/example also shows how concrete workplace practices such as the rigid structuring of the workday and not having things like flexible working hours for employees reinforced Joan's choices and excuses not to exercise. Moreover, these practices reinforced that Joan's identity as a mother that was worked by herself and Joe within a patriarchal discourse of the family and the discourse of motherhood as natural. In this regard, similar to how the practices of Joan's mother-in-law were lending credence to the "fact" that women should be in the home looking after the children, these workplace practices were also reinforcing these "facts" in a similar way. Thus, Joan was beginning to experience that if she could not fit her work within these "working hours" due to having to perform childcare duties, then perhaps she should be in the home instead since women were better suited to this anyway.

When we met for a follow-up interview (i.e., at week sixteen), Joan indicated that the social climate of her workplace had not changed, nor had the problems with her son's sleeping schedule. Thus, she continued to be either too tired to exercise or she was too busy and did not have the time to exercise at work. Joan also continued to habitually draw upon a patriarchal discourse of the family and a discourse of motherhood to make sense of her situation. In turn, Joan continued to correctly understand herself to be primarily responsible for her children's needs and believed that they should take precedence over work and exercise respectively This was likely reinforced by Joe in light of him drawing upon similar discourses. Thus, Joan continued to utter words and phrases that centered upon her having to care for her children and she engaged in childcare practices outside of work that continued to place her in conflict at work due to her increased work load and lack of flex time.

Together, all of the foregoing reinforced Joan's choices, behavior, and responsibilities when it came to her lack of exercise behavior and these were used to work up her identity as a mother with a patriarchal discourse of the family and a discourse of motherhood. These choices, behaviors, and responsibilities thus centered around continued conflicts at work over lack of flex time as it related to the child care duties that Joan engaged in outside of work (e.g., missing a meeting to attend her son's first day of pre-school) and also getting her son on a schedule.

For example, during this follow-up interview, Joan had indicated that for the past four weeks she had been working half days, taking her allotted vacation time so that she might have afternoons off in order to be with her son. Here we see that Joan had again made a sacrifice in order to maintain the structure and harmony within the family as a result of continuing to make sense of her situation by drawing upon patriarchal discourses. For example, when making sense of her lack of exercise behavior in the previous four weeks (i.e., weeks thirteen through sixteen), Joan continued to draw upon these discourses:

> Interviewer: So how else have things been going?
>
> Joan: I do not feel I have any flex time at all. And um yeah (pause) I don't feel that I have any sort of flex time so working out is, is really hard to do at work now. Um, I've tried I've gone and worked out a few times but in the last three weeks I haven't. Part of it is because I'm trying to get my son on a schedule right? And so I'm trying to get him on a—right now he's going to sleep at around ten, ten thirty which is better than eleven thirty or twelve (laughs) so it's getting better. But um yeah, I'm trying to get him from grandma cause she doesn't have the heart to keep him up you know and he's tired and she'll let him sleep and

> she'll let him sleep for two hours. So he's on this vicious cycle because
> he gets up early and he's tired and she lets him sleep and take two hour nap in the afternoon, but in the evening he won't go to sleep until late. And so I figured I'm just gonna have to do it myself.

This extract illustrates that Joan's situation at work and outside of work had not changed. Thus, Joan was either too tired to exercise, or she did have the time to exercise at work. In turn, Joan continued to use reasons for her lack of exercise that related to "time" and "scheduling". For example, she said, "I do not feel I have any flex time at all" and "I don't' feel I have any sort of flex time so working out is really hard to do". Additionally, the patriarchal discourses that Joan continued to draw upon again predisposed her to continue to take it upon herself to alleviate her son's sleeping problem. Thus she continued to accommodate and arrange her own schedule in order to accomplish this since in her eyes it goes without saying that woman are responsible for this. Given that flex time was linked to Joan's engagement in childcare duties outside of work and her duties at work, this notion of lacking flex time was used as a good and acceptable reason to avoid exercise, and was implicitly linked to the identity of a mother that she continued to work up within these discourses. Moreover, this actual workplace practice of taking flex time away had impeded Joan's exercise at work.

To end this section, I present the same narrative from this follow-up interview that was utilized earlier:

> Joan: You know like I guess my first choice right now would be to work out at work, during my lunch hour, that would be my first choice to do it then. Then I don't feel so bad about my kids you know that I'm taking time away from them. Um if it comes to the point where I have no choice there then I would have no choice but to—I think working out is still important—so I would look to doing it

> at home somehow and see how I feel about that. Whether I would feel guilty that yeah taking time away from the kids. You know I've had lots of thoughts of, "maybe I should just quit my job" (laughs) and just stay at home, there's too many things to do, there's too many things to do, to try and take care of I guess as a working mother. I've had thoughts of that. Cause then you'd have more time to sort of fit everything in, I don't know.

Viewed in the context of the discussion at hand, this extract illustrates that Joan continued to draw upon a particular set of discourses to make sense of her situation and lack of exercise behavior, with particular choices and behavior resulting. The discourses that she continued to draw upon were the patriarchal discourse of the family and the discourse of motherhood. These discourses and the ways of speaking, feeling, and behaving that they encouraged were reinforced and (re) produced by the practices going on in Joan's workplace (e.g., loss of flex time) and family (e.g., Joe not helping out). As a result, Joan's reaction to her current situation (e.g., she had no flex time, her son was not on a proper sleeping schedule, and she could not exercise) was to make sacrifices for the family (e.g., she contemplates choosing to give up her job in order to stay home and be with the children). Implicit here is that the choices Joan made continued to center upon the family first, work second, and exercise last because the central tenets of these discourses had predisposed her to do so.

Thus, again Joan did not attempt to renegotiate this situation as she might have if she had positioned herself within a liberal feminist discourse, for example, perhaps asking her husband to take the children so that she could exercise outside of work, because it goes without saying within patriarchal discourses that women are responsible for their children. Thus, she continued to view and experience this situation as unchangeable and therefore the way things are. Given the multiple demands that Joan faced as a working mother as this study progressed, this had resulted in a lack of adherence to her exercise program at work. Therefore Joan had concluded and experienced that the "fact" that she had such trouble at work was perhaps a reflection of the "fact" that women should be at home, at least while the children are young. Ultimately,

Joan uttered phrases such as "maybe I should just quit my job" and "just stay at home, there's too many things to do". In the end, by framing her situation within a limited repertoire of discourses and having those discourses reinforced by others as well as concrete practices, Joan did not attempt to renegotiate her situation differently so that it might be more conducive to her exercise behavior. Instead, Joan concluded that for now this was how things were to be while her children were young, and, thus, she would not be able to adhere to a regular program of exercise.

Ray's Lack of Resistance

Joan had an exercise partner, Ray, with whom she was exercising at work. Having an exercise partner could or should have provided Joan with the impetus to exercise at work. However, it did not. As we shall see, this was because Ray drew upon a liberal feminist discourse to render his own identity as a parent, as well as patriarchal discourses to render an identity he had of Joan as a mother/parent. Despite these discourses having very different central tenets, and therefore different conditions of possibilities when it comes to thinking, feeling, and behaving, an important effect of this was that both Joan and Ray's identities emerged as that of involved parents. This in turn had implications for Joan's exercise adherence at work because it meant that Ray was often reinforcing (in subtle ways) Joan's choices, behaviors, and the situation she was currently in which centered upon the family's needs coming first. In this regard, given the liberal feminist discourse that Ray drew upon to make sense of himself as a parent, Ray's behavioral practices also centered upon placing his own children and family ahead of exercise; i.e., exercise was an option. Thus, he understood Joan not exercising so that she could leave early to be with her children, or because she was too tired from having been up the night before with her children (e.g., that Joan was "tired", "stressed", "busy" or had to tend to the family). In this way, Ray allowed Joan's gambits of compliance to succeed when it came to not exercising at work, and it is in this way that Ray reinforced Joan's perception that her exercise must take place on her lunch time at work or not at all.

From the outset of the study, Ray and Joan employed similar reasons to exercise (e.g., to talk about their family duties) with each other, and in so doing, worked up their identities as involved parents in and through their conversations about their exercise experiences within different discourses. Ray's identity of himself as a parent was worked up within a liberal feminist discourse, and thus he made sense of Joan's identity as a parent within this discourse as well. Because he drew upon this discourse to make sense of his own and Joan's situation, he likely saw both their parental duties as chosen. Conversely, Joan's identity of herself was as a mother worked up within a patriarchal discourse and the identity she had of Ray as a parent was worked up within a liberal feminist discourse. The difference here was that in drawing upon these discourses, it is likely that Joan viewed her own duties as a mother. Additionally, she also likely viewed Ray's role as a father who helped as probably the exception, since men within a patriarchal discourse would be viewed as "special" exceptions to the rule.

This is illustrated by the following quote from Ray during our second interview:

> Ray: The sessions go by pretty quick because as long as you're talking about stuff like you know she's got two kids, I got two kids, we got a lot in common in terms of you know, there's a shared experience there.

A quote from my second interview with Joan also illustrates the foregoing:

> Joan: So um (pause) and him and I we have a lot of things in common. Like socially too in the sense that he's got young kids and I got young kids. And so and his kids are older than mine um (pause) his youngest is the same age as my oldest. And so his kids are like five or six and there and mine are three and one.

Despite this being a facilitator of their exercise at work initially, given that Ray and Joan continued to draw upon the foregoing discourses to work up identities of themselves and each other, those family duties that were encouraged often became good reasons to avoid exercise at work for both of them. Thus, when Joan chose not to exercise at work, Ray did not question this, thereby conveying to Joan that he understood and approved of her reasons to not exercise. An important effect of this for Ray was that he too did not exercise. After all, part of the reason that he was exercising was so that he could have conversations with Joan about their parental duties; i.e., exercising at work with each other was an opportunity to reinforce that they were both good parents. If Joan was not going to exercise so that she could leave on time to be with her children after work, Ray was not going to exercise either, nor was he going to provide any resistance to

Joan by questioning her reasons. In this way, what he did not say to Joan when she declined to exercise with him was also important because it conveyed to Joan that he understood. For example, Ray talked about how when he went to pick Joan up for an exercise session saying that "sometimes I just stick my head in and ask her if she's ready to go and she says, "I can't" and that's pretty much it. I don't get any more explanation and I don't ask for it either, but that's you kind of assume it's just a work thing".

Ray could empathize with Joan's predicament given that the liberal feminist discourse that he drew upon to work up his own identity as a father creates subject positions for men that are similar to (but not identical with) women's positions within patriarchal discourses. However, the difference between Ray and Joan was that, within the liberal feminist discourse, it was possible and permissible for Ray to negotiate various childcare arrangements. However, for Joan, within the patriarchal discourse, she had to request "concessions" from Joe or from others (e.g., her mother or her mother-in-law) when it came to childcare arrangements. However, ultimately she rarely did because these discourse also suggest that women should accommodate their own needs for the needs of others. Thus, the important behavioral outcome that resulted for Joan was that she engaged in work behaviors at work and/or engaged in childcare practices instead of exercising at work.

The following quote taken from Ray's second interview, which took place within the twelfth week of the study, illustrates how and that Ray drew upon a liberal feminist discourse and a patriarchal discourse to make sense of Joan's exercise behavior:

> Interviewer: So tell me more about how exercise has been affecting her life.
>
> Ray: There were times you know early in the month where she had another project where there was outside work or whatever and she hadn't gotten into work until nine or nine thirty and that she just couldn't afford the time to go and it happens—it's happened to me too. But I you know, it's just that you know with my conversations with her it's quite obvious that she's responsible for taking and picking up and I know that in my family I'm partially responsible, mostly responsible on certain occasions. And so you really gotta budget your time accordingly. And if it doesn't work out, it just eats into your day and uh that's you know maybe you're lucky and work isn't all that busy and you can afford to take the time to work out and uh (pause) but sometimes you're not and you can't.

This extract shows how when making sense of Joan's exercise behavior, Ray drew upon a liberal feminist discourse to make sense of what he would do and how he would react (e.g., "she just couldn't afford the time to go and it happens—it's happened to me too") when it came to exercising at work. In so doing, he worked up his own identity as a parent who helps out with his children and is primarily responsible for his children. At the same time, in relation to this identity that he worked up for himself within a liberal feminist discourse, he also worked up an identity he had of Joan in similar way. The outcome of working up his identity and an identity he had of Joan in these ways within this discourse was that he subtly reinforced Joan's reasons for not exercising at work because he provided little resistance when it came to her gambits of compliance (e.g., "And so you really gotta budget your time accordingly. And if it doesn't workout, it just eats into your day and uh that's you know maybe you're lucky and work isn't all that busy and you can afford to take the time to work out and uh (pause) but sometimes you're not and you can't").

An effect of Ray drawing upon these different discourses to work up his own identity as a parent and an identity he had of Joan as a parent meant that both Joan and Ray had to budget their time in order to fit in work so that this did not interfere with family. However, where this becomes interesting is in that fact that for Ray, his budgeting of time was in effect negotiated by him because he had negotiated his childcare arrangements with his wife who was regarded as a partner. However, Joan's budgeting of her time at work had in effect happened because she could not negotiate childcare arrangements with Joe (her husband) and felt uncomfortable saying anything to her mother-in-law about her childcare practices.

If this is contrasted with what was discussed earlier, what we also see is that, while Ray and Joe were reinforcing Joan's choices, behavior, and responsibilities with respect to the family, they were doing so with different discursive resources. Thus, Joe experienced and thought that Joan was doing the right thing in giving up her exercise at work to take care of the family first and foremost because it goes without saying that her exercise must not interfere with her caring for the children (not to mention himself). Ray, on the other hand, was actually reinforcing Joan's decisions and choices as a *parent*, rather than as a mother, because the liberal feminist discourse that he draws upon blurs these boundaries of what constitutes a "mother" and a "father" (and implicitly the duties attached). For him, men and woman who have children are *parents* as opposed to "mothers" and "fathers". Lest it be unclear, the differences between a patriarchal discourse and a liberal feminist discourse is that the responsibilities of a "husband", "wife", "father", and "mother" are *given* within a patriarchal discourse whereas the responsibilities of parents are *negotiated* within a liberal feminist discourse. So, even though he may not have realized it or even taken advantage of it, Ray was empowered by his position within the liberal feminist discourse he drew upon, while Joan was helpless within the patriarchal discourses she and Joe draw upon.

Why Is Work the Only Time Joan Can Exercise?

In light of the situation her situation, perhaps Joan needs some more windows of time in which she can fit her exercise, since exercising on her lunch hour proved to be difficult. Yet Joan does not have those other windows of time such as exercising in the evenings or on the weekends. Why this was so continued to be the product of the particular set of discourses that Joan and her significant others continued to draw upon.

In this regard, given that Joan primarily drew upon patriarchal discourses when making sense of her current situation, Joan structured her exercise to take place on her lunch hour at work. Structuring her program in this way would allow her not to impinge on family time, which was reserved for evenings and weekends. Because it went without saying that exercise must not interfere with her caring for her children and the family's needs, Joan viewed and constructed her exercise from the outset as "lunch time or never".

An illustration of this first comes from my initial interview with Joan in which she was asked what she thought some of the difficulties of becoming an exerciser might be for her:

> Joan: I think that that'll be a temptation – not let other things go (pause) "now I'm gonna go off and work out without my kids" (laughs). So that's the challenge

> at home, which is why I work out during the lunch hour. The children are at grandma's or whatever all day. So when I finally have a bit of a routine for me it will be to work out at lunch hour because here I don't have my kids. So I am alone type-of-thing and so I can, I can basically work out without feeling guilty, that I'm taking time away from my kids. So what I have to do is to work out during the lunch hours if I'm going to do this.

This extract shows how Joan drew upon a patriarchal discourse of the family and a discourse of motherhood when making sense of the difficulties she might face as she attempted to integrate a regular program of exercise into her life. In framing this situation within these discourses, Joan again correctly understood herself to be primarily responsible for her children. Therefore, the terms she employed that could impede her exercise were those that related to taking "time" away from her children. Specifically, Joan again "time" to construct this identity of herself as a hard working mother. Thus, "time" outside of work and the behaviors connected were devoted to her children. "Time" for herself (in this case exercise) came after that and was therefore viewed as an option, with her placing her needs second (e.g., "So I am alone so I can basically work out without feeling guilty, that I'm taking time away from my kids"). She also used terms like "temptation" and "feeling guilty" to work up her identity as a mother primarily responsible for her children. She used these concepts as forces that could impede her exercise (i.e., as possible excuses/reasons to avoid exercise). Given that these were implicitly linked to her identity as a mother, she therefore sought to avoid experiencing "temptation" and "guilt" by structuring her exercise to take place on her lunch hour at work.

In working up her identity in this way within these discourses, Joan's decision was to make sacrifices so that she could still be a good mother that these discourses construct (e.g., "when I finally have a bit of a routine for me it will be to work out at lunch hour because here I don't have my kids"). An important effect of speaking in these ways within these discourses was that Joan excluded the possibility of exercising outside of work or on the weekends, constructing that "time" as being solely for the children and the family. Additionally, given the central tenets of these discourses, she did not speak of Joe helping out with the children in the evenings so that she might exercise if she missed a planned exercise session at work, nor did she ask him to. Together, this all had the effect of her limiting her exercise to an extremely narrow window of time and viewing her exercise as being "lunch time at work or never".

As a result of drawing upon these discourses, Joan had defined what she was responsible to do for her children. But it is important to note that she did allow herself *some* freedom in this regard or she would not be working full time in the first place. However, she set a minimal threshold for her children and a minimal threshold for her work. In turn, exercise was viewed and constructed as an option because when those minimal thresholds were met, there was often no time left for her exercise. Joan was able to meet her personal goal of exercising for 30 minutes three times per week for the first four weeks of the study. But, given the practices mentioned earlier that were going on and that had contributed to the particular goings on in Joan's home and in the work place, exercise was not an option for her later on. Moreover, exercising outside of work or in the evenings was excluded as a possibility. These discourses that Joan drew upon made it less likely that Joan would ask Joe to help out in the evenings with the children so that she could exercise lest the children cling to her and she would feel guilty.

Joe further reinforced Joan's decisions to structure her exercise on her lunch hours at work, and implicitly contributed toward not only Joan's structuring of her exercise within a narrow window of time, but also toward Joan's exclusion of other possibilities for exercise outside of work. By virtue of drawing upon these discourses to work up an identity he had of himself as a father and an identity he had of Joan as a mother, like Joan, Joe reveals that he also thinks that Joan was doing the correct thing in structuring her exercise to only take place at work and thus not in the evenings. This was because it again goes without saying within a patriarchal discourse that exercise must not interfere with her caring for the children (not to mention himself). He therefore reinforced Joan's choices, behavior, and responsibilities in and through his talk and (lack of) actions within these discourses, and this in turn meant that he also reinforced her narrow window of time in which to fit her exercise to the exclusion of other possibilities. A specific example to illustrate this comes from my first interview with Joe that took place within the first two weeks of Joan's exercise program:

> Interviewer: How do you think Joan's exercise program might affect her or be affecting her so far?
>
> Joe: From my point of view, I can't see there being any negatives that this program would have for her life because her exercise right now (pause) she does it during the day so time-wise it won't affect me or the family. So you know she just does it on her lunch break at work, so that won't really affect us. Maybe a couple of times she's felt the urge to do a run in the evening or whatever, and that's not a big deal. You know 45 minutes for her, I guess I could survive with the kids for that long (laughs).

This extract illustrates how Joe drew upon a patriarchal discourse of the family and a discourse of motherhood when making sense of Joan's exercise regime early on in her program. Thus, Joe continued to work up an identity of Joan in and through his accounts, which related to Joan's prioritizing her family and children. Specifically, he again used the concept of "time" to work up this identity. He linked "time" explicitly to the duties and behaviors that Joan engaged in that first and foremost surrounded the family (e.g., "…her exercise right now she does it during the day so time-wise it won't affect me or the family"). Joe's ways of speaking within these discourses reinforced Joan's ways of speaking and the choices she made when it came to family "time" and exercise "time" (e.g., "So you know she just does it on her lunch break at work, so that won't really affect us"), and thus implicitly reinforced the fact that Joan did not have other windows of time in which to fit her exercise outside of work, nor could she have other windows of time because it could interfere with the family.

This extract is also interesting because it shows how the central tenets of these discourses contributed to the structuring and (re) producing of the current situation within Joe and Joan's family. Joan therefore has had to structure her exercise within a very narrow window of time, and Joe has reinforced this. In this regard, what is interesting is that in discussing the effects of Joan's exercise program on her, Joe shifts from this to discussing the effects of her program on him. Thus, the patriarchal discourse that he draws upon suggests that it goes without saying that it is women who are naturally more suited to childcare and therefore have the responsibility for tasks. Given this, Joe is predisposed say that if he *were* to care for the children so that Joan could exercise it would amount to him doing her a favor as opposed to him taking the children in order to help out as a parent.

This becomes even more significant if considered in light of Joan's own identity construction as a mother. Recall from the previous example that Joan had worked up an identity of herself as a mother within a patriarchal discourse of the family and a discourse of motherhood. An important effect of this was that she had not entertained the possibility of exercising in the evenings since this was set aside for family time rather than exercise time. Consider next that when Joe talked about Joan's exercise behavior, he said that he would help out in the evening if she had the "urge" to exercise, which amounts to him doing her a favor or for Joan to have to request certain concessions. However, because Joan was primarily responsible for the children and Joe was not as a result of both of them habitually drawing upon the foregoing discourses, Joan did not ask Joe for such concessions, nor he did he offer any. Thus, in light of drawing upon these discourses to work up their own identities and to work up identities they had of each other, the social climate of the family continued to be structured and (re) produced in a way that was not very conducive to Joan integrating a program of exercise (any program) into her current life situation. In turn, Joan chose not to ask Joe to help out in the evening or any other time so that she could exercise and therefore did not have other windows of time to exercise. Joe chose not to offer to help, but he continued to maintain that if he did offer or if Joan did ask, it would be a favor that he did for her on his part. Joan's exercise behavior was therefore reinforced by Joe as having to take place at Joan's place of work (i.e., as the only window of opportunity to exercise), since work was the only time that she did not have the children.

Thus, because both Joan and Joe drew upon limited discursive resources, when it came to Joan's exercise behavior, the choices they both made in relation to it were one's that were related to Joan being the primary caregiver to the children first and foremost. Therefore, Joan and Joe did not contemplate alternative notions that might have provided Joan with some more windows of time in which to fit her exercise, such as having Joe drop off the kids and/or pick them, or him helping out with the preparation of meals because Joe's understandings of what constituted childcare did not consist of such things. In turn, this meant that while Joan needed some more windows of time in which to fit her exercise in light of the social climate of her workplace and problems with her son's sleeping schedule, she did not have those other windows of time.

Ray also inadvertently reinforced Joan's structuring of exercise on her lunch hour at work as the only window of time in which she could exercise in and through his language practices by habitually drawing upon particular discourses. As mentioned in the previous section, one of the ways in which Ray reinforced Joan's choices, behavior, and responsibilities (albeit subtly) was by drawing upon a liberal feminist discourse to construct his own identity as a parent. Given that Ray then was also primarily responsible for caring for his children in the evenings and on the weekends, this meant that, like Joan, Ray also had similar gambits of compliance when it came to exercising (e.g., exercise had to be structured around the family and lunch time was the only time that was a possibility). Thus, from the outset Ray reinforced Joan's structuring of exercise at work as lunch time or never and that family/work take precedence over exercise (i.e., exercise is an option) because the liberal feminist discourse within which he made sense of his own situation again made it possible for him to empathize with Joan.

For example, within the twelfth week of Joan's exercise program I asked Ray how he thought Joan's exercise program might have affected her. The following was in part, his response:

> Interviewer: Tell me how Joan's program might be affecting different areas of her life.
>
> Ray: She's told me she's given exercise outside of work a shot—nothing really specific—I don't know whether she goes jogging or biking or anything like that, and she says she's really tried. But in one of our recent conversations—and she was discussing pretty much if she's gonna get it done. And I know where she's coming from cause it's the same thing with me you know when I go home at the end of the day you know my kids are involved in activities, so there's stuff to do. And pretty much I have maybe after they go to bed at nine o'clock I can do some physical activity, but I don't wanna do any physical activity at nine o'clock at night. So lunch hour is perfectly set aside for us to do something and I think she's made that decision and that's when she can do it.

Within this extract in order to make sense of Joan's exercise program, Ray drew upon a liberal feminist discourse to again decide what *he* would do (i.e., the conversation shifts to himself), and in so doing he worked up his own identity as that of an involved parent who helps out with childcare duties. He also drew upon a patriarchal discourse to work up an identity of Joan as a parent who prioritized her children and placed her own needs and wants second because he would do the same (e.g., "And I know where she's coming from cause it's the same thing with me you know when I go home at the end of the day you know my kids are involved in activities, so there's stuff to do"). In this way, Ray reinforced Joan's choice to *only* consider exercise during the lunch hour at work as the only window of time in which to fit her exercise; exercising outside of work was out of the question due to that being set aside for family time for the time being.

Together, the foregoing examples show that in light of the discursive resources that Joan, Joe, and Ray continued to draw upon to make sense of Joan's current situation, Joan's choice to exercise on her lunch hour at work was reinforced as the *only* acceptable way to fit exercise into her life. In working up Joan's identity as well as their own identities within these discourses, Joe and Ray also implicitly reinforced Joan's ways of speaking with and about herself when it came to exercise (i.e., that family/work duties come first and exercise is therefore an option, and the only option for exercise is at work during lunch time). And as discussed in the previous section, they both reinforced Joan's choices, behavior, and responsibilities in this regard, but they did so with different discursive resources.

Thus, while the outcome for Joan was the same (i.e., she only entertained one window of opportunity for exercising and viewed her exercise as lunchtime or never), because the discourses that her significant others drew upon were somewhat different, Joe and Ray's understandings of Joan's windows of opportunity to exercise were also likely somewhat different. Joe reinforced Joan's decisions when it came to exercise at work as a mother in and through the fact that he thought Joan was doing the correct thing in only structuring her exercise on her lunch time because it goes without saying that exercise must not interfere with her caring for the children. This meant that Joan's responsibilities as a mother were viewed by Joe as nonnegotiable and that if Joan were to have other windows of time in which to fit her exercise, it would have to amount to her asking for concessions and/or for Joe to do her a favor. However, Ray reinforced Joan's decisions when it came to exercise at work as a parent (not a mother), and as such he viewed Joan's responsibilities as a parent as somewhat more negotiable since his own duties as a parent had been negotiated within this liberal feminist discourse. While speculation, it is likely that if Ray were to contemplate Joan having other windows of time in which to fit her exercise, he might think that she could negotiate them with Joe as he had with his wife, who, probably given Ray's use of a liberal feminist discourse, likely had a few more windows of opportunity than Joan did to engage in her own self-related pursuits (whatever those might have been).

The overall point of this section was to illustrate why Joan was not exploring other possibilities when it came to her exercise because her identity had been worked up and constructed over the years in this particular limited way. She therefore did not entertain the possibility of other things that might have freed up more windows of time in which to fit her exercise (e.g., Joe helping out with picking up the children or cooking dinner, asking her mother-in-law to stop letting her son sleep in the afternoon, or asking her mother or mother-in-law to take the children on the weekends so that she and Joe could exercise together, or even exercising *with* the children in the evenings or on the weekends). Joan was therefore unable to successfully adhere to her exercise program at work, and she also did not take or have other opportunities in which to fit her exercise outside of work in light of the conversations she had within a particular set of discourses, which were reinforced and resistant to change because her significant others also drew upon a particular set of discourses. These were further held in place and resistant to change in light of the concrete practices that Joan and her significant others engaged in, as well as the material and institutional practices in Joan's family and in the social climate of her work place.

Discussion

Given that the purpose of this research was to utilize developments within Discourse Theory, or more specifically, ethnomethodology, poststructuralism, and narrative psychology toward the development of an alternative theory of the self and identity for investigating and understanding exercise adherence, this discussion will explore what the foregoing results afforded in terms of understanding and advancing exercise adherence from this perspective. To accomplish this, this discussion will be divided up into two main points/sections. The first of these will be what was specifically learned about Joan's identity from a discursive perspective, and in turn, what the implications of this were for understanding the process of exercise adherence. Following this, the implications of this discursive understanding for intervention and change and what will need to happen if Joan's behavior is to be changed from sedentary into more active behavior, will be discussed.

The Discursive Production of Self, Identity, and Exercise Adherence

This section will first briefly reiterate what self and identity are from a discursive perspective. To accomplish this, the specific contributions that ethnomethodology and poststructuralism each make toward self and identity conceptualization will be outlined. Following this, ethnomethodology and post-structuralism will be discussed in turn and tied more specifically to the results (i.e., the discursive production of Joan's identity) and the implications this had for Joan's behavior and understanding exercise behavior. Given that narrative psychology was employed as a methodological tool rather than a theoretical one, it will not be tied to the results in this way, but rather simply acknowledged that eliciting narratives from Joan and her significant others allowed for the exploration of the discursive production of identity. To end this section, a summary of what was learned overall about Joan's identity and the process of exercise adherence by drawing upon ethnomethodological and poststructuralist traditions and the importance of this for advancing our understanding of exercise adherence will be provided.

As outlined earlier in Chapter Two, in general, self and identity from a discursive perspective are linguistic phenomena or conversations within discourses that people have with themselves and others on a regular and habitual basis. More specifically, ethnomethodology contributes toward a theory of self and identity for the purpose of investigating exercise adherence because it necessitates that self and identity be conceptualized and studied as conversational accounts or accomplishments in language and conversations (Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 1984). This means that self and identity (i.e., who we are) are inseparable from language, talk, and the conversations people have with others and themselves. Thus, self and identity are not some "things" or entities that happen to us or somehow enable us to act accordingly. Rather, they are worked up and constructed via the accounts people give to themselves and others. This makes self and identity interactional accomplishments that are negotiated and achieved in the course of ordinary conversations (Garfinkel, 1967; Mehan & Wood, 1975; Schenkein, 1978). More importantly, those ordinary conversations construct and formulate particular actions and behavioral consequences depending upon the context within which they take place.

Poststructuralism further contributes toward a discursive conception of self and identity via its focus upon the larger discourses within which self and identity are constructed and the subject positions taken up within those discourses that afford and limit those specific ways of speaking with and about ourselves. Like ethnomethodology, poststructuralism also emphasizes that self and identity are relational in that it emphasizes the role of others within our social network as contributing toward the (re)production and maintenance of who we are. However, in addition to their local use of words within particular conversations, postructuralism also emphasizes that these relational identities people construct of themselves and each other are constructed within particular discourses (Hollway, 1989; Weedon, 1987). Thus, depending upon the discourse(s) one is drawing upon, one's identity will be constructed in a particular way as opposed to another, with particular effects resulting. Additionally, poststructuralism suggests that the discourses that people draw upon to construct various identities of themselves and others are anchored in a set of historical and material conditions and practices beyond the local and specific contexts of which people are usually unaware (Bourdieu, 1981; Weedon, 1987). As a result, poststructuralism also gives historical and social practices and institutional/material conditions primacy in the constitution of people's everyday lives and who they are. This makes our identity produced and reproduced as an integral part of what words do and the effects they have (Henriques et al., 1984).

Finally, narrative psychology contributes toward a theory of self and identity because the narrative tradition outlined earlier assumes that narrative is the basic mode of thought and action, and the means by which who we are is rendered visible (Bruner, 1987), providing a specific means to examine how our selves and identities are accomplished, hence providing a vehicle for understanding and modifying exercise behavior. Viewed in this way, this would suggest that eliciting narratives/stories from people about their exercise experiences provides a means of exploring the discursive production of self and identity, and the behavioral outcomes connected (e.g., sedentary behavior, sporadic exercise, or regular exercise). Thus, narrative psychology provided the methodological tool or means by which the discursive production of self and identity were explored in the current study.

Thus, ethnomethodology, post-structuralism, and narrative psychology were combined in the present study toward a theory of self and identity to explore and understand the exercise and non-exercise behavior of Joan who was attempting to integrate a regular program of exercise into her life after having been sedentary. In so doing, it was suggested that who and what Joan "is", and thus implicitly her exercise or non-exercise behavior, was a collection of conversations with herself and others, which were spoken from subject positions within larger discourse(s). This had consequences for Joan's experiences in relation to her exercise program as well as the social and behavioral practices that resulted.

Do the results of this study suggest and illustrate that this is the case, and if they do, what do they afford us in terms of further understanding the exercise adherence problem? To answer this question, I begin with discussing Joan's results in terms of the ethnomethodological perspective outlined above and what an ethnomethodologist would find interesting. First, ethnomethodology would draw attention to the fact that, when making sense of her exercise behavior throughout the study, Joan made conversational accounts that contained particular words and phrases as opposed to others. In turn, Joan's use of particular terms within particular conversations constructed and formulated particular actions and behavioral consequences for Joan in the home and in the workplace. Together, these actions and behavioral consequences proved to not be very encouraging of Joan's exercise behavior at work and outside of work.

For example, Joan's accounts about why she could not exercise at work and why she did not exercise throughout the study tended to centre upon her having to be home for her children and family or having to defer exercise because work was piling up in light of her being primarily responsible for childcare and other duties at home (e.g., cooking, cleaning, laundry), or because she was tired as a result of having been up with her son the night before. In this regard, Joan often employed/uttered reasons to not exercise at work such as not having time, or that her schedule impeded her exercise, or that she was too tired. In turn, these specific terms and excuses were linked to or used in the construction of Joan's identity as a working mother. In this way, Joan's identity emerged, or to use the terminology of ethnomethodology, was "worked up" via the conversations that she had with herself and others in relation to why she could not exercise.

An important effect of the foregoing was that particular actions and concrete practices resulted in relation to caring for the children first and foremost rather than those practices that might have encouraged Joan's exercise behavior (e.g., Joan asking Joe for help, Joan asking her mother-in-law not to let her son sleep late, Joe offering to help out in the evenings so that Joan could rest or exercise in the evenings). In turn, Joan's actions and the context within which they unfolded were (re)constituted in and through these conversations and the practices that resulted in the home and the workplace. In this regard, when Joan said that she could not exercise at work because she had to be home for her children, ultimately this gambit of compliance succeeded and Joan's action was to defer her exercise at work and engage in work place practices instead so that she could leave work early, or go looking for daycares for her son in order to alleviate his sleeping problem.

Thus, similar to the classical study by Wieder (1974) cited in chapter two in which inmates' utterances (e.g., "you know I won't snitch") were found to have social and behavioral consequences (e.g., the researcher was called to stop his line of questioning and remained ignorant to the answer) that (re) produced yet constrained the social environment, so too did Joan's utterances. In this regard, when Joan uttered phrases in her conversations such as "I can't exercise today because I have to be home for my children", the social consequence was such that the climate within Joan's family was structured as one in which there was a large imbalance in the housework and childcare. Hence, Joan's environment at home was constrained in a particular way in light of her utterances and this in turn fed into her work environment being constrained, and ultimately the window of time in which she could fit her exercise was also constrained. Ultimately, Joan's behavior was also constrained in important ways such as her structuring her exercise only at lunch time at work and therefore abandoning her exercise when the workload increased, and caring for the children and performing other domestic duties outside of work rather than taking time for herself and exercising.

Ethnomethodology would also draw attention to Joan's identity being an interactional accomplishment not only in and through the conversational accounts she makes with and to herself, but also by virtue of the accounts she makes with and to her significant others (Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 1984). While ideally these conversational interactions would have been directly recorded between Joan and her husband Joe or Joan and her exercise partner Ray, some inferences about Joan's identity construction and lack of exercise behavior can still be made via the exploration of the separate accounts of

Joan, Joe, and Ray. For example, similar to Joan, Joe worked up an identity of Joan as a mother primarily responsible for the children in and through his talk. Thus, when Joe made sense of Joan's exercise behavior and current situation, his conversational accounts tended to relate to Joan not exercising because she was focused on what was best for the family. At the same time, in working up an identity of Joan in this way, he also worked up his own identity as a husband and father who could not help out because he was not well suited to such tasks. Given that a central premise of ethnomethodology is that these ordinary conversations construct and formulate particular actions and behavioral consequences (Garfinkel, 1967) this meant that Joe's accounts continued to construct, constrict, and reproduce the situation in which Joan was primarily responsible for the children. This not only constituted Joan's actions within this situation, but also Joe's actions within the situation (e.g., to not offer to help out, to provide partial assistance with childcare in the form of play, to watch television or go to sleep rather than caring for the children). The results also showed that Ray too worked up an identity that he had of Joan as a mother in a similar fashion to Joe when making sense of Joan's exercise behavior. However, while Joan's ways of speaking with and about herself in relation to exercise were also reinforced by Ray, this identity was reinforced via Ray working up an identity of himself as a father/parent in and through his conversational accounts that was similar to Joan's; i.e., Joe viewed himself as a father who could not help out, but Ray viewed himself as a father who could and did help out. Thus, both Joe and Ray reinforced Joan's gambits of compliance when it came to not exercising at work and also not exercising outside of work by working up her identity similarly. But they did so by employing different conversational accounts in light of how they worked up their own identities as fathers.

This notion of Joan's identity being 'co-constructed' by her conversations with herself and her significant others with particular effects resulting is supported by the research that was cited in Chapter Two conducted by Coupland et al. (1991). While not done within the physical activity and exercise realm, this research conducted in the gerontological sphere is important to note because it found that, by examining the conversations of an older woman interacting with a younger woman vs. with another older woman, definitions of elderliness are jointly created and sustained in and through such conversations. Specifically, when interacting with someone closer to her own age, the elderly woman presented her identity positively, giving positive accounts of her life. However, when interacting with the younger woman, her identity was co-constructed as being more fragile. This in turn showed that not only do people assign themselves to taken for granted identity categories depending upon with whom they are conversing, but this can be problematic because it can result in the negative construction of an elderly person's identity (e.g., the elderly woman was con-constructed as lonely and depressed). Thus, similar to how Joan's identity being co-constructed as a that of a mother was problematic for her exercise adherence and her experiences in relation to that (e.g., distress, guilt), this research also showed that depending upon with whom the elderly woman conversed, her identity was worked up differently with either positive or negative effects resulting.

All of the foregoing meant that Joan's current situation was the result of taken for granted conversational accounts that she and her significant others had come to utter about Joan and her situation on a habitual basis to make sense of every day life. Because these accounts centered upon Joan structuring her exercise as an option because she was responsible for her children, it was taken for granted by Joan, Joe, and Ray that Joan was in fact a 'mother' first and foremost. To further understand why this was the case, we also need to recall that an important contribution that ethnomethodology makes toward understanding social behavior is that it draws attention to the taken-for-granted aspects of social life and the means by which these can be called into question and renegotiated (Garfinkel, 1967). Thus, social life is only possible against a backdrop of shared and taken for granted assumptions.

In the case of Joan and her significant others, all three of them had the shared and taken for granted assumption that Joan was primarily responsible for the children and that exercise should only be engaged in after they was taken care of. If the children were not taken care of, then exercise, though somewhat important, could not happen at all. For Joe, this was also in light of his shared and taken for granted assumption with Joan that it was she and not himself that was the better and more suited caregiver to the children. For Ray, this was also in light of the shared assumption he had with Joan that he was also an involved father who must also place his children first. Thus, Joe's and Ray's accounts were such that it went without saying that Joan would tend to the children's needs first and then exercise would come after that, thus exercise was therefore an option. And in this way, Joe and Ray inadvertently reinforced Joan's gambits of compliance when it came to not exercising through the fact that they did not call Joan's ways of speaking into question. They had taken for granted that this was the way things are, and that it went without saying that Joan would give up her exercise to be with her family. Thus, the choices and decisions that Joan made as she went her about her daily life (an implicitly worked up her identity as a mother), including whether to exercise or not, tended to be those that were in the service of maintaining the harmony and structure within the family, and these choices were reinforced by Joe and Ray not only because their identities were worked up relationally, but also due to the taken for granted assumptions that were connected to those identities.

In light of the foregoing, we see that, as ethnomethodology would suggest, Joan's identity was worked up in and through her conversational accounts, and that these are reinforced by Joe's and Ray's conversational accounts; i.e. Joan's identity was relational. Additionally, from this we can also see that in line with ethnomethodology's assertion that conversational accounts also formulate particular actions, the accounts that Joan and her significant others made also structured the social setting within which Joan conducted her daily life as well as the behaviors she engaged in. These behaviors tended to be those that were in favor of the family rather than exercise. But given that Joan did want to exercise and a particular situation was structured in and through her and her significant others' accounts, why did Joan continue to tolerate her situation? Why did Joan permit

Joe's gambits of compliance to succeed? And when Joan did call Joe's gambits into question, as she did when she asked him for help (e.g., bathing the children), why was her line of questioning not successful in bringing about change? These are important questions for which the ethnomethodological perspective offers little in the way of an answer. For this reason, the ethnomethodological perspective on its own will not suffice in providing a complete understanding of Joan's situation and why she did not adhere to her exercise program. Something else is needed with which to frame and inform the concrete practices which are ethnomethodology's focus. For this, I turn now to poststructuralism.

Poststructuralism would further draw our attention to the discourses within which Joan and her significant others' specific conversational accounts were framed. Recalling that a discourse furnishes us with particular conditions of possibility as to how we will think, feel, and behave, what we see is that, in the case of Joan, given that her behavior and utterances centered upon the family rather than herself, she was speaking from the socially constructed position of a mother within a patriarchal discourse of the family (Weedon, 1987). The central tenet of this discourse is that there are particular roles and duties suited to men vis-à-vis women, the likes of which structure the sexual division of labour within the family. Thus, when it came to exercising, the family's needs ultimately took precedence over her own because, within the discourse that Joan framed her situation, she correctly understood herself to be responsible for those needs.

Given that poststructuralism also postulates that identity is relational in light of the discourses others draw upon to construct identities of us as well as themselves, what we also see is that Joan's identity that she constructed of herself within patriarchal discourse was inadvertently being reinforced by others. In this regard, like Joan, Joe also framed Joan's situation within patriarchal discourses and thus also correctly understood Joan to be responsible for the children and that he was not, and that it therefore went without saying that she should give up her exercise in order to engage in such practices. As mentioned, Ray viewed Joan's situation similarly and thus reinforced her identity as a mother, but this was because he drew upon a different discourse (i.e., a liberal feminist discourse) than Joe. As such, Ray correctly understood Joan to be primarily responsible for her children because he had negotiated his own responsibilities similarly. As mentioned earlier, this was in light of this discourse's provision of subject positions for men similar to those subject positions provided for women within patriarchal discourses (Hollway, 1989; Weedon, 1987).

That Joan's identity was co-constructed in this way with particular effects resulting with respect to how she felt and behaved (e.g., she didn't exercise in lieu of taking care of the family and this caused her a great deal of distress and anxiety) was in line with what was found by Capps and Ochs (1995). Specifically, in an effort to combine clinical psychology and linguistics, Capps and Ochs (1995) conducted an in-depth narrative and discursive exploration of Meg, a woman who had been labeled as 'agoraphobic' and suffered from anxiety and panic attacks. Narratives/stories were elicited from Meg about her experiences with panic attacks as well as recorded instances of natural conversations that occurred between Meg and her family (i.e., her husband and two children). These were then analyzed these in terms of the discourses within which they were framed. It was found that the structure of the relationships, distribution of power, and identities worked up by family members, shaped and contributed toward Meg's stories and her experiences, and ultimately her panic attacks.

More specifically, Meg's identity was co-constructed as an "irrational woman" who deviated from the norm by the narrative roles that her family, especially her husband, played in the telling of her experiences with panic attacks. This was not only shown to reify Meg's anxiety and thus reproduce this situation, but in examining these family interactions, it was also shown that, despite this, Meg viewed her husband as an ally in her struggle against anxiety (e.g., he encouraged her to participate in activities outside the home, he was supportive of her therapy). However, similar to Joe saying that he was supportive of Joan's exercise but yet inadvertently curtailed that, despite her husband wishing to curtail Meg's panic and anxiety (as Joe wanted Joan to exercise), he was reinforcing Meg's anxiety in his attempts to silence and change the subject at the dinner table by virtue of the discourses he drew upon. And similar to Joan's situation, Meg and her husband were found to be unaware that the conversations in which they were engaging each other were contributing towards Meg's anxiety and panic attacks.

Shedding even more light on why Joan did not renegotiate her situation and therefore tolerated her situation is the fact that poststructuralism also asserts that in addition to focusing upon specific and taken for granted narrative accounts within discourses, we also need to remain aware that these discourses, behaviors, and practices that influenced Joan's exercise behavior were (re) produced and maintained in concrete practices, institutions, and material contexts. This means that the patriarchal discourses within which Joan's identity was constructed by herself and significant others, as well as the identities that her significant others constructed of themselves via the various terms and concepts employed in that self-identity construction within particular discourses, were reified and held in place by "objectified history" (e.g., theories, institutions, laws, and customs) (Bourdieu, 1981). This is further manifested in the form of embodied history that makes these discourses, the ways of speaking within them, and the behaviors/practices that either encouraged or discouraged Joan's exercise, the product of an historical acquisition of which Joan and her significant others were likely unaware. Finally, it is important to note that this re-enactment of history in objectified and embodied form is not only apparent via Joan's own actions, but also through her interactions with others within their social network.

Thus, if we more specifically consider Joan's situation and the accounts that she and her significant others constructed by drawing upon patriarchal discourses in light of objectified history, what we find is that, when attending to these ways of speaking and behaving, these words and behaviors are tied to a history of work and procreation practices centering around the family. Thus, early on in Joan's relationship with Joe, it was she that was primarily responsible for the domestic sphere, and the childcare practices that she ended up being responsible for once they had children were the result of this history. Additionally, the workplace practices of Joan's boss, over time as well as the daycare practices of Joan's mother-in-law, were also lending credence to the "fact" that women are the ones better suited to childcare and should therefore be in the home. These ideas and practices have been naturalized as facts or common sense in the form of theories (e.g., some biological theories suggest young children need their mothers more than their fathers), customs (e.g., women stay home to care for children when they are young while men are the primary bread winners), and laws (e.g., many women receive paid maternity leave while most men do not). Embodied history, which is the re-enactment of objectified history via our actions and interactions (Bourdieu, 1981), would further suggest that staying home, cooking, and performing other behaviors/actions related to family duties rather than exercising are behaviors that are the *product* of a historical acquisition that makes it possible to appropriate this legacy of history where the family is concerned.

Additionally, given this history, Joan was likely unaware that when she uttered these excuses for not exercising and performed domestic duties instead that she was re-enacting these conventions which are the result of a long history of work and procreation practices. As well, because both Joan and her husband constructed her identity as a working mother primarily and habitually within the patriarchal discourses of the family, Joan experienced herself and spoke from the socially constructed subject position as a mother who was primarily responsible for the well being of her children and for maintaining the harmony within the family. In turn, she was predisposed to engage in behaviors and ways of speaking that contributed toward this in order to avoid experiencing guilt and anxiety. Moreover, because these words are linked to the foregoing, when uttered, we can now see even more clearly how and why Joan's actions (i.e., her local ways of speaking and the behaviors she engaged in at the expense of exercising) (re) produced particular relations with her self and others. At the same time, we also have even more light shed on why the accounts that Joan and her significant others provided within discourses had become taken for granted because these were reified and (re) produced in the concrete practices taking place within Joan's workplace and her family (Fairclough, 1992).

These historical ways of speaking and behaving in effect made being 'hard working mother' and the specific reasons to not exercise employed to construct that identity, an acceptable gambit of compliance for Joan's non-exercise behavior. Furthermore, concrete practices within Joan's workplace and her family (re) produced these ways of speaking about herself and reinforced this notion that women should be in the home and are better suited to caring for children (e.g., the nine to five work day and the notion of working over time within the workplace, lack of flex time, women tend to be the primary caregivers to young children thus men don't help out).

Together, these notions made Joan's identity of a 'working mother' that was constructed within a patriarchal discourse of the family and a discourse of motherhood, and the specific ways of speaking and behaving associated with it *appear* seemingly stable and unchangeable. Thus, because Joan and her significant others continued to draw upon a limited repertoire of discourses which encouraged particular ways of speaking and concrete practices, Joan's identity as a 'working mother' was understood to be and was experienced by herself and her significant others as a fixed identity. Additionally, these notions make terms and concepts such as 'social support', 'motivation', and 'barriers', which are the subject and object of study within more traditional approaches to studying the exercise adherence problem, appear as fixed and immutable structures within Joan or her environment.

Thus, to summarize what has been presented with respect to ethnomethodology and poststructuralism, lasting behavioral change will be difficult to achieve for Joan not simply because she lacks 'motivation' and 'willpower' or because she cannot overcome 'barriers' to exercise or because of her 'role' as a working mother in society. Changing her behavior from sedentary to more active behavior will be difficult because Joan and her significant others constructed her identity using a limited repertoire of terms within their conversational accounts by virtue of drawing upon limited discursive resources. These in turn were legitimated, reinforced, limited, and held in place via historical, institutional, and material conditions. Additionally, because her, her husband's, and her friend's discursive practices and actions, are also the result of an objectified and embodied history of which they are unaware, Joan's situation and who she is will also be viewed and experienced by her and others as unchangeable, leaving her little possibility for change in the future.

The foregoing becomes significant for further understanding exercise adherence because, together, ethnomethodological and poststructuralist perspectives suggest that the representationalist approach to language upon which exercise adherence research is predicated only provides a partial picture of the adherence problem and how it might be solved. For example, recall that representationalist modes of research imply that to solve the adherence problem internal structures (i.e. cognitive processes) and external structures (i.e., social and environmental conditions) must be targeted for research and change in order to help people become and remain physically active. Specific research that has explored women's exercise participation and the relevance of 'social roles' (e.g., Verhoef & Love, 1994; Verhoef & Love, 1992) illustrates this exploration of the 'cognitive' and the 'social'. Such research has found that women who are 'mothers' do indeed have fewer opportunities to engage in exercise and hence face more 'barriers' when it comes to exercise and this is the due to sociocultural circumstances. Other studies have even found that women who are 'mothers' who schedule their exercise during their work time are actually more likely to exercise at work than women are not mothers (Verhoef, Hamm, & Love, 1993). Together, all of these studies acknowledge that change is required at a broader societal level (e.g., providing affordable and adequate daycare for working mothers) if change is to happen at the level of the individual (e.g., altering beliefs and expectations within the person that are attached to the 'mother role'). Thus, this research is valuable because it identifies and acknowledges that exercising for women who find themselves in circumstances similar to Joan (e.g., they work and are the primary caregivers to their children) can be difficult and thus tries to provide solutions to change that.

However, what ethnomethodology and poststructuralism make clear in conjunction with the current research findings is that while identifying these concepts and structures is useful and important, it is the everyday explanations and behaviors that reproduce the social world within which activities make sense to people (Bourdieu, 1977) as opposed to the concepts in and of themselves. This suggests that people are under on-going construction and change through their own behaviors and every day use of words that, in turn, reproduce the social environment in which those very activities make sense (Bourdieu, 1977; Garfinkel, 1967; Michael, 1989). Moreover, as poststructuralism further makes clear, people's understandings of these terms/concepts are inherent in embodied and objectified form; i.e., they appear in the everyday practices of ethnomethodology's agents and the physical and material settings that result from those everyday practices. In light of this, the terms and concepts people use to account for their and other people's behavior become part of our taken-for-granted common sense notions about people.

Hence, phrases that Joan and many other people use to account for lack of exercise behavior such as "I lack motivation" or "I don't have time", become acceptable reasons to not exercise, or to use the terminology of ethnomethodology, these have become successful gambits of compliance for non-exercise behavior. Lest it be unclear, this means that when accounting for our lack of exercise behavior to ourselves and others, we avoid being questioned further because the conventions within our culture are such that people are often "time-pressed" or "don't feel like" doing something. These have become understandable and taken for granted notions about people and our social world. Furthermore, poststructuralism asserts that over time these terms and concepts, by virtue of the implicit behaviors linked to them (e.g., lying on the couch, engaging in work or childcare practices), have become undeniable and fixed taken-for-granted forces that can impede our exercise behavior. The historical investigations of Foucault (1965; 1978), for example, suggest that some of the objects whose reality we completely take for granted (e.g., 'madness' and 'sexuality') are in fact relatively recent "inventions". Similarly, Jacques (1996) has described how 'employment', as we currently understand it, emerged over the past one hundred years. On the surface, these investigations might appear very different, and in fact are very different from those objects of study within exercise psychology such as 'social roles' (e.g., mother, wife). However, what they share is a focus on documenting that there was a time when these things we take for granted did not "exist", at least not in the forms through which we presently know them.

Thus, when Joan says she cannot exercise because she has to care for her children and is working at the office, traditional forms of research exploring the adherence problem have taken for granted that her 'role' and duties as a 'working mother' have converged to not let her have the 'time' to exercise. Those working on solving the adherence problem using a representationalist approach to language might also suggest that because Joan is a working mother, she needs enlist to 'social support' (e.g., day care services outside of work, or exercise facilities at work). This in turn will make it more likely that she will decide to exercise given her circumstances, and that she will adhere to that exercise.

However, if an understanding of why this is as well as why many woman do not attempt to resist situations that predispose them to distress, guilt, and fatigue more often, what is also required in addition to the representationalist research that currently predominates within exercise psychology is a mode of research that can account for how these concepts are used in everyday life rather than as things in and of themselves, for it is the use of these concepts and the effects that these have that will have implications for exercise and non-exercise behavior. Additionally, we also need a mode of research that will account for the sedimentation of history both within and around us, for it is this that will enhance our understanding of why situations are difficult for people to change, eventually leading to ways and solutions to change those situations so that people who wish to integrate exercise regimes into their lives can do so successfully. And what the current study makes clear is that it is developments within ethnomethodology and poststructuralism that that can contribute toward accomplishing this and that narrative psychology provides us with a useful methodological tool to explore this.

Implications for Intervention and Change

At this point, given what the foregoing discursive conception of self and identity has contributed toward understanding Joan's exercise behavior, how this understanding can be employed in a way that will lead to lasting behavioral for Joan and people in similar situations like her will now be discussed. What should be clear from the foregoing findings is that if Joan's exercise behavior at work is to be encouraged and/or if Joan is to entertain more windows in which to fit her exercise, there is a need to focus upon changing the discourses that she and her significant others continually draw upon, the taken for granted terms and conversational accounts they make to themselves and each other, and the implicit historical, social, and behavioral practices that reified and held these in place.

Additionally, how and that the material conditions and institutions (re) produced all of the foregoing must also be the focus of understanding and change for it is these that can facilitate the undoing of the historical practices and ways of speaking (i.e., history embodied and objectified) that Joan and her significant others have taken for granted as unchangeable. Thus, in Joan's case, several things would have to be attended to in order to help her change from a sedentary to an active lifestyle, and to maintain that change. First, Joan needs to be made aware of how her daily conversations with herself and others (in this case Ray and Joe) within patriarchal discourses are contributing to the thoughts, feelings, and behaviors she was experiencing in relation to motherhood and exercise. In turn, Joe and Ray would also need to expand their discursive resources so that Joan's identity of 'working mother' could be constructed in a way that would allow for conditions more facilitative of exercise. This would necessitate offering new subject positions for Joe and Joan as "parents" and "partners" rather than as "father", "mother", "husband", and "wife", perhaps within a liberal-feminist discourse, from which to make sense of the situation in ways that make alternative ways speaking, feeling, and behaving more likely.

A good example of how taking up a different socially constructed subject position within a liberal feminist discourse can lead to different ways of speaking and behaving than those encouraged by a patriarchal discourse comes from a concrete example within this very study; i.e., Ray and his drawing upon a liberal feminist discourse to construct his own identity as a partner and parent within his own relationship. In this regard, although Ray's drawing upon a liberal feminist discourse had inadvertently reinforced Joan's identity within patriarchal discourses, in light of its creation of similar subject positions for men to those created for women within patriarchal discourses, what we also see is that by drawing upon this discourse, Ray's childcare duties were negotiated. Given that Joan's situation was such that she did not or could not negotiate her childcare duties with Joe, if Joan and Joe were both to draw upon a liberal feminist discourse, they would have been predisposed to construct each other as parents and partners, perhaps creating opportunities for themselves that would have made Joan's exercise behavior more likely. That being the case, Joan would not only have asked for and entertained more windows of opportunity in which to fit her exercise when she could not exercise at work, but Joe also would likely have offered to help, alleviating some of the pressure and guilt that Joan continually experienced when she drew upon patriarchal discourses.

An important effect of this could have been that how Ray then constructed the identity he had of Joan as mother within a patriarchal discourse could have been changed.

This would have predisposed him to construct Joan as a parent within a liberal feminist discourse, rather than as a mother who was primarily responsible for her children. A possible outcome of this might have then been that it could have been Joan that encouraged Ray's exercise, rather than Ray inadvertently reinforcing Joan's gambits of compliance for not exercising in light of her own empowerment. Regardless, all of the above would have allowed Joan and her significant others to not only expand their discursive resources, but to make Joan the subject of, rather than the cause of the situation (Henriques et al, 1984; Weedon, 1987). The outcome of this would be Joan experiencing less distress, guilt, and self-blame for her lack of exercise or time away from her family when she does exercise, thus making her more likely to continue exercising on future occasions.

Finally, given that the conversational accounts made within discourses that Joan and her significant others drew upon were the result of the sedimentation of history (Bourdieu, 1981), we would also need to raise Joan and her significant others' consciousness and awareness of the historical practices and the institutional or material conditions keeping particular discourses, "facts", and practices in place. This is so that Joan and Joe would be able to entertain the possibility of changes to institutional arrangements rather than simply accepting that her current situation within the family and the workplace is natural and the way things are. Additionally, in raising such consciousness, it would be hoped that some of these concrete institutional practices that detracted from Joan's exercise (e.g., the social climate of the family, the practices within

Joan's workplace) would begin to be changed, affording concrete conditions of possibility via various discursive and behavioral practices that will make change more likely. This will be no easy task. However, once an awareness of how and that those particular material conditions and historical actions contribute toward making Joan's identity as a 'mother' appear as an immutable structure, and thus Joan's sedentary versus active behavior, larger scale changes can begin to take place. As an outcome of such changes, the discourses and practices that constitute/construct existing relations and identities can also begin to be changed, perhaps making it more likely that this Joan and women in situations like her will initiate and adhere to exercise programs. The final chapter that follows will explore what can be concluded from the current case study, the limitations of this research, and suggest some future directions for research carried out from a discursive perspective.

Chapter VII

Conclusions, Limitations & Future Directions

> …to see subjectivity as a process, open to change, is not to deny the importance of particular forms of individual subjective investment which have all the force of apparently full subjectivity for the individual and which are necessary for our participation in social processes and practices. Nor is it to imply that the material structures, such as the family, education and the work process, which constitute and discipline our sense of ourselves, both conscious and unconscious, can be changed merely at the level of language. Discursive practices are embedded in material power relations which also require transformation for change to be realized
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> Weedon, 1987

This final chapter will be divided up into four sections to provide a summary of what was learned from the results of this study, including conclusions and limitations, as well as what future directions exercise adherence research based upon these conclusions and caveats might take. The first section will first discuss conclusions in terms of the results; following this, the theoretical conclusions will be presented. The second section will acknowledge some of the limitations inherent in this investigation and how these may have limited the findings and conclusions of the study. In the third section, future research directions and specific avenues of study will be discussed. The fourth and final section will provide a brief summary and reiterate the contribution this research makes.

Conclusions

The foregoing results presented and discussed in the preceding two chapters demonstrate and illustrate that the transition into exercise (i.e., becoming a regular exerciser) involves an extremely complex and dynamic process of identity transformation within a multitude of discourses which predispose people to particular linguistic and behavioral practices. Moreover, for Joan, who was unsuccessful in becoming a "regular exerciser", as defined within the discourses of exercise and physiology, the transition into exercise (and lack of adherence to exercise) was about maintenance and preservation of an identity that was worked up over and over again within a multitude of discourses.

The end effect/outcome of presenting and discussing these results in the foregoing way(s) was that this case study provided support for the notion that identity can be regarded as a collection of narratives spoken from subject positions within larger discourses, which are constructed and maintained by various others and historical, material and institutional bodies (e.g., the family, the workplace, and the practices associated with each). As outlined in the previous discussion, this had extremely important and interesting implications for how we might further go about understanding the process of self and identity construction/transformation, and also the exercise adherence process. Ultimately, these notions taken together were suggested to have wider implications, which were also discussed in the previous discussion, for how we might help people in general change their behavior from sedentary to active.

To summarize, in light of the results that were presented and discussed, if our understanding of exercise behavior is to be significantly advanced, several things need to be addressed. First, we need focus upon the specific taken-for-granted terms people employ in their everyday talk as they account for their exercise or non-exercise behavior, but not as things-in-themselves that are ahistorical absolute properties of individuals and societies. Rather, these terms or regularities of speech need to be focused upon in the context of identity construction, particularly as this relates to exercise and non-exercise behavior. Recall that from a poststructuralist perspective people's identities are not given but, rather, are constructed within discourse(s). Therefore, the discursive resources people have at their disposal will determine the particular terms available to construct their identities in the context of accounting for why they did or did not exercise. The terms and the identities into which they converge will either encourage or limit exercise behavior (i.e., they will serve as successful or unsuccessful gambits of compliance for exercise).

It is also worth reiterating that in recent years a great deal of research has emerged from a variety of perspectives encompassing the personal, interpersonal, social, and environmental realms when it comes to studying and understanding the exercise adherence problem. But despite the multiplicity of approaches, the exercise adherence problem remains with progress currently proceeding at a snail's pace if not quite at a standstill. Thus, the purpose of this research was to advocate a discursive approach to conceptualize who and what people are as products of discourse and the social world as an alternative way of understanding and researching the adherence problem.

This was in light of its ability to transcend the limitations of the research that tend to subscribe to a representationalist approach to language that currently pervades the discipline of exercise psychology. More specifically, developments within poststructuralism (e.g., Henriques et al., 1984; Weedon, 1987) and ethnomethodology (e.g., Garfinkel, 1967; Heritage, 1984) can be advocated as a means of theorizing a discursive conception of self and identity and, implicitly, exercise behavior. Poststructuralism, in conjunction with ethnomethodology and narrative psychology constitutes a mode of research that can account for the sedimentation of history both within and around us because, together, they excel at conceptualizing the multiplicity of points at which everyday talk, language, discourses, behavior, and social and institutional practices function. Thus, what the current case study begins to show is that ethnomethodological research, when carried out from a post-structuralist perspective, helps us to appreciate the history deposited in people's everyday practices and how the physical/material settings that result from these everyday practices can guide our intervention efforts when it comes to changing sedentary behavior to active behavior. This result is a historical and social as well as personal picture of what influences people's exercise behavior without appealing to hypothetical structures, processes, and mechanisms that are the sole property of the individual or society. Instead, in combining these perspectives what is achieved is a view of behavior and action that takes place within a given system that has not only constituted those individuals, but is mediated by those individuals (Bourdieu, 1981; Michael, 1989).

If Joan and Joe and people in similar situations became aware of how they are confronted with the family as a real institution and the concrete practices (e.g., childcare, practices centering around work and the family) that hold this in place, larger scale changes could begin to be entertained (Fairclough, 1992; Weedon, 1987). The outcome would be alternative conditions of possibility when it comes to how women and men speak about themselves in relation to their familial duties. Ultimately, the conversational and behavioral practices might be changed, making exercise behavior more likely in relation to such conversations. Indeed, some of these changes are already taking place within the work place where, for example, some companies offer paternity leave for either parent as opposed to just maternity leave for mothers. Additionally, some companies provide employees with flexible work schedules so that they might feel less pressure and more flexibility when it comes to structuring work and familial duties/practices. Indeed, in the case of Joan, at the outset of the study, when she did still have her flex time within her work place, this had afforded her the possibility of taking up exercise as a practice in the first place. Practices inherent in institutions such as this have begun to transform how we construct 'motherhood' and 'fatherhood', transforming the discourses within which those terms make sense and, ultimately, how men and women speak about themselves with themselves and with each other, and how they experience themselves and each other as parents.

Other than the case study research carried out in the present study, to date, as far as this researcher is aware there is no research that has yet employed the foregoing ideas for the study of exercise adherence (cf. McGannon & Mauws, 2000). Despite this lack of research employing these ideas to study exercise behavior, there is empirical research mounting in other disciplines that subscribes at least in part, to some of the contours outlined earlier for accomplishing research from a discursive perspective. For the discussion at hand, this research is important to note here because it also shows how the discursive perspective can have clinical and applied value. For example, research discussed earlier exploring the discursive production of identity of the elderly has had implications for institutional and social practices that affect and construct the 'elderly person' (e.g., Coupland & Coupland, 1994; Coupland, Coupland, & Giles, 1991; Coupland, Coupland, & Grainger, 1991; Paeoletti, 1998a, 1998b). Additionally, research in the clinical realm of psychological disorders has also exemplified the utility of these ideas for understanding agoraphobia as a discursive and narrative production as opposed to a problem located solely within the individual's mind. This approach has also demonstrated the utility of a case-study approach combined with discourse analysis for not only understanding "disorders", but for helping individuals to begin to overcome their "disorder" on a clinical level (Capps & Ochs, 1995). Recent research in the area of eating disorders has also employed poststructuralism and discourse analysis to explore how men and women construct who they are in relation to their eating behavior and how this structures their relationship with food (Lupton, 1996). Similar to the agoraphobia study, this has had implications for how we view and treat those labeled as having an "eating disorder" and as such has called into question this taken-for-granted category and raised an awareness of the behavioral, social and emotional effects its use can have for people.

Thus, research utilizing the aforementioned theoretical notions in these various areas has not only added to the understanding and knowledge within those areas, but has also sparked important developments on theoretical, methodological, and practical levels. Moreover, this research has begun to raise consciousness and awareness of some of the taken-for-granted terms, categories, and practices these areas employ. The outcome of this has been an enhanced understanding of various behaviors within a social and political context. Perhaps more importantly for the study at hand, such research has accomplished these outcomes by avoiding the shortcomings inherent in research subscribing solely to a representationalist framework and approach to language. However, despite the exciting possibilities that these studies outside of exercise psychology can afford researchers interested in further understanding and solving the exercise adherence problem, there are limitations of the current study as well as many future directions research from a discursive perspective might take if this goal is to be accomplished.

In light of what has been presented, it should be evident that while a discursive investigation of exercise behavior as advocated within this paper may not be *the* answer to the adherence problem, it has much to contribute toward that end. This is because the assumptions to which this discursive investigation subscribed allow for never before entertained questions and may eventually provide new understanding and solutions to the adherence problem that a sole subscription to current approaches does not allow. Given the outcry for the inclusion of alternative perspectives and research that is multidisciplinary if we are to find ways to increase population-wide physical activity (e.g., King, 1994), a discursive investigation and understanding of exercise adherence should therefore be embraced because it tells us much in this regard.

Limitations

Despite this perspective and research being advocated as an important means of investigating and further understanding the exercise adherence problem, it must be acknowledged that there were limitations of the current study that somewhat limit the findings and the conclusions that can be drawn.

First, despite the apparent compatibility with the relevant methodological considerations, the use of narrative and discourse analysis had limitations for investigating the discursive construction of self and identity. For example, while the methodological tools presented and employed *attempted* to avoid representation, it must be acknowledged that ultimately using 'language-as-representation' could not be escaped. For example, the subject positions and the larger discourses within which they occurred could not be identified without some form of representation. Additionally, the larger goal of wanting to investigate identity as a resource for participants, rather than the researcher, may also have been unattainable. Each of these points will be discussed in turn.

With respect to the first point, when analyzing the narratives, even via discourse analysis, ultimately some form of representation had to be used. This involved the researcher having to draw upon various discursive resources such as particular theories, metaphors, concepts, and object descriptions. Ultimately, the researcher was also restricted to particular words/ways of speaking, which were also embedded within discourses, to convey how and that identity is a discursive production with social effects, despite trying not to reify those very terms (e.g., "mother", "hard worker") and discourses utilized. However, it was acknowledged up front that I was "talking about talk" not to reify identity categories and the terms employed to construct it as things that exist within the individual and the social world. Rather, I employed those terms and discourses in an attempt to show how people might be using language to craft and reify "things" for themselves, the effect of which was to have particular experiences in the social world as opposed to others. That said, I would like to again emphasize that when various identity categories and subject positions (e.g., "mother", "wife") are presented and discussed within the two results chapters that follow, I am not referring to these as being entities that resided solely within the individual or society. Rather, when I use the term "identity" I am referring to *categories in use* that are worked up within discourses which structure the social world in which Joan and her significant others participated, with particular effects resulting.

With respect to the latter point, earlier it was mentioned the criteria and stages suggested for discourse analysis attempted to explore the data as a participants' resource, rather than an analyst's resource. Yet, upon closer examination of some of these points, what we find is that "repairing the indexicality" of talk (Garfinkel, 1967) could not be avoided. For example, while language-in-use was the focus as well as an awareness and focus upon the objects brought into being via the participants' speech, in the end, the analyst drew upon theory and conventional cultural understandings in the identification of those objects, subject positions, and larger discourses.

Despite this, the final criteria for distinguishing discourses did accommodate this, with an acknowledgment that discourses will always refer to other discourses, and that one must employ some theoretical and cultural understanding to identity these. Thus, perhaps using self and identity as an analyst's resource cannot be avoided. Instead what was accomplished in this study was that the researcher attempted to examine *how* and *that* self and identity is a resource for participants, but simultaneously with an admission and an awareness that he/she will also use these categories as a resource to make "sense" of the participants' sense making. Moreover, an important outcome of this was that, unlike traditional self-identity research that subscribes to a representational approach to language, I did not identify these concepts being "socially constructed" but then proceed as though they existed somewhere within the mind and/or as structural locations/properties of people and society.

Additionally, upon telling one's stories to a researcher, Joan and her significant others may have spoke from the socially constructed position of a research participant/subject within overarching theoretical and scientific discourses. The outcome of this would have been them speaking and framing the narrative(s) in particular ways. Thus again, it must be stated that the researcher was aware of how particular discourses might be being reified in the participants' talk as well as the researcher's talk.

Another point that warrants mention regarding the limitation of employing self-identity narratives and discourse analysis as tools, rather than examining naturally occurring instances of talk via methodologies such as conversation analysis (Sacks, 1992). Earlier, it was acknowledged that for pragmatic reasons, the overarching narratives people use to position themselves more generally would serve as indicators of those everyday conversations one has with themselves and others. It must be clarified how employing narrative in this way will have implications. First, a discursive view or theory of self and identity emphasizes that self and identity are mobilized in and through talk, and are perpetuated and maintained in people's actions and *joint* activities with various others. Thus, by not examining the natural interactions within which these narratives occurred, an understanding of how and why those ways of speaking might be maintained may not have been gained. This notion is reinforced by the case study of the 'agoraphobic', in which researchers also video taped "Meg's" actual and daily interactions with family members, the result of which was a better understanding of how and why her mental illness was reified via the discourses she engaged in habitually with significant others. As well, as some of the ethnomethodological work drawn upon (e.g., the work of Coupland and colleagues) indicates, studying such interactions is important because they do elucidate how these interactions actually (re)produce identities and effects for speakers and listeners. So given that these naturalistic micro-interactions of talk were not recorded between Joan and Joe or Joan and Ray, the results were limited in this regard.

A related limitation in light of this is the fact that while the theoretical chapter suggests that this dissertation intended to bring together ethnomethodology and poststructuralism to study the discursive production of identity, there were some shortcomings in this regard. Thus, while it was inferred that Joan's social network played an important part in creating and maintaining particular views that she had of herself as first and foremost a mother, in the end, because actual instances of interaction were not recorded, this had to be inferred from the separate interviews conducted with Joe and Ray. So while it can be said that Joe and Ray likely contributed toward Joan's identity construction and implicitly then to the fact that she did not adhere to her exercise program, it cannot be said that such an assertion is based upon these *actual interactions* in everyday life that the use of ethnomethdology emphasizes. Doing so would have made such an assertion stronger and illuminated even more understanding on this interactional aspect of identity (re)production. However, although the methods chosen precluded to be able to capture the subject positions in talk and that interactional instances of conversation were not recorded, this is not to say that ethnomethodology was not implicit. Regardless, focusing upon the day to day interactions of people, and in this case Joan's interactions with Joe and Ray, and the natural occurances of talk, would be a future avenue for research that would likely enhance our understanding of the discursive production of identity in relation to exercise behavior.

Another limitation of the current study is that, despite acknowledging the objectified history (e.g., theories, customs, laws) as (re)producing the particular situation that had come into being for Joan which was appropriated via the actions of Joan and her significant others (i.e., history embodied), the history of the workplace, family, and health practices was not explicitly explored. In this regard, it should be mentioned that there is a large and complex history of texts that might have been explored via genealogical analysis which might have shed even more light on how and why Joan's practices within the workplace and home as well as why her exercise practices and experiences were constructed in particular ways. For example, some feminist scholarship has explored how women's "madness" in the present is actually a relatively recent invention to serve the interests of men. This was shown by doing such an historical analysis of how this notion of women's illness actually evolved over time as a result of politics the outcome of which was to serve those interests (Ussher, 1991).

Following from this notion of a historical analysis, the history of Joan's past conversations and the effects this had for her present conversations and present situation, particularly those within her relationship with Joe, were not based an actual an exploration of this history. Rather, this history and its effects were based upon what Joan said about her past relationship in the present. Thus, while all of the foregoing suggests that it *could* be inferred that Joan's current situation had come into being as result of a sedimentation of history and was therefore resistant to change, it is acknowledged that such an inference is based upon speculation. Thus, the current results in this regard and the conclusions made might have been strengthened by actual historical explorations of workplace, health and fitness practices, and the family, and Joan's relationship with her significant others. However, again as mentioned in regards to the previous limitation, this was simply not feasible with this study and therefore remains a future avenue for research.

Finally, it should also be acknowledged that from a poststructuralist perspective, the notion of promoting exercise as good for people or as something they should be doing is seen to be a moral judgment and as such is political because it serves the interests of some while subordinating the interests of others. While this is important, focusing on the politics of such an agenda is beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, it is still important to note because this also has implications for raising awareness to our own biases as researchers of what we refer to throughout this paper as "the adherence problem". Thus, by advocating that we study exercise adherence and try to solve the adherence problem by employing developments within ethnomethodology and poststructuralism in the first place, such an advocation is istelf the product of a particular discursive constellation. Thus, it is possible to situate this dissertation as a text produced within a discursive formation that views exercise as a behavior to be encouraged (i.e., adhered to) as opposed to discouraged, and as a topic of research in its own right. In light of this, I must acknowledge that I am biased in this regard and thus what I have produce below as recommendations for recommendations for intervention is directed at those who wish to be more successful at adhering to exercise plans, regardless of the value that exercise might have for them.

In discussing the implications of the foregoing for future research, it is useful to reiterate the ontological starting point of discursive psychology, which is that it is discourses that produce 'persons', rather than persons who produce 'discourses'. That said, future research and interventions from a discursive perspective will need to continue to be concerned with discourses, the subject positions those discourses confer, and the discursive resources exercisers and non-exercisers draw upon when giving reasons for exercising and not exercising. This is because it is the discourses and the subject positions taken up within them that predispose one to particular responses, feelings, and behaviors. This implies that the research methods employed are likely to be naturalistic studies of texts or conversations (Potter & Wetherell, 1987), hopefully occurring within real world settings such as exercise classes, the workplace, and the family.

Additionally, given that an acknowledged limitation of the current study was that a historical analysis of the practices within the health and fitness industry, workplace practices, and the family was not conducted per se, future research seeking to understand how such concrete institutions perpetuate particular discourses and practices that encourage or discourage exercise might undertake such an historical investigation and analysis. This could be accomplished in a multitude of ways, but one suggestion would be to look at the evolution of concepts such as "health", "fitness" and "motherhood" and how these have developed over time in the form of various texts to socially construct these objects we now take for granted.

More specifically, following from the results of this study, future research within the exercise adherence realm might explore and investigate the discursive production of the 'physical self' (i.e., the body) or, as it was referred to in this study, the discursive production of the "normal" fit female body. This is advocated in light of not only what was found in the present study and some of the acknowledged gaps in this literature (see

Davis, 1997), but also in light of Fox's (1997) and Sparkes' (1997) recent call for closer links between psychological and sociological theory as the personal and socio-cultural realms *all* play pivotal roles in understanding what the physical self is and how it functions with respect to exercise behavior.

For example, using the subculture of the health and fitness movement as a backdrop, a future stream of research might focus upon on how a particular physical "look" for women is promoted as the normal, fit, female body. Grounded in the work of Foucault, how the normal female body is "built-up" and sustained culturally, socially, and discursively could be explored. Additionally, how this forms the basis for women's psychological and emotional experiences in relation to exercise, how this structures gender relations and definitions of femininity, and the implications this has for exercise and physical activity behavior (e.g., withdrawal from exercise, excessive exercise) could also be studied. Some future research questions in this regard might include, how is the normal female body built up and sustain culturally, socially, and discursively? What are the intersections of discourses (re)producing the fit female body and what are the implications of these for psychological and emotional experiences in relation to exercise? A final question of interest could be how does the normal fit female body (re)produce definitions and categories of femininity and gender relations and what are the psychological, emotional, and behavioral implications in relation to exercise?

Another stream of future research in light of the results of the present study where motherhood, fatherhood, and parenthood are concerned might focus upon studying the family as an important socio-cultural influence on exercise behavior. The family itself as an area of study, both as an object and an institution, has been relatively neglected within exercise adherence research (Taylor, Baranowski, & Sallis, 1994). Most researchers within exercise psychology agree that the family should be an area of study in light of the fact that the dynamics of children's and adult's physical activity may be quite different. Moreover, given that both children and adults are currently not active enough to accrue the necessary health benefits outlined in the introductory chapter of this dissertation, it would seem that the family is also an important area of study in light of the potential influence it has on the physical activity of adults and children (Taylor et al., 1994). To date, parents and siblings as role models, and socioeconomic status and cultural background have all been implicated as important influences on children's physical activity participation. However, how and why these influence physical activity patterns of parents and children are currently not known and fully understood (Taylor et al., 1994).

Thus, future research carried out from a discursive perspective could begin to enhance this understanding via its exploration of some of the more complex mechanisms of influence within the family (e.g., discourses and childcare practices) and how these create conditions that promote and/or constrain women's and men's identity, psychological health, and physical activity behavior and the implications this has for both children's and parent's physical activity behavior. Some future research questions in this regard might include, what are the discourses within which men and women position themselves and each other to craft identities as mothers, fathers, and parents? Following from this, what then are the implications of this for men's, women's, and children's physical activity behavior? And finally, what are the historical practices and institutional conditions that (re)produce particular familial discourses and what are the implications for men's and women's identity construction, psychological health, and exercise behavior?

Given that exercise adherence research carried out from a discursive perspective has particular methodologies associated with it in light of its theoretical underpinnings, it is also important to advocate or recommend particular methodologies that future research might employ in this endeavor. Methodologies employed in future investigations of exercise adherence from a discursive perspective will have to continue to accommodate *how* and *that* experience is a linguistic phenomenon. Because of this, less common "qualitative" methodologies such as ethnomethodology (Garfinkel, 1967), conversation analysis (Sacks, 1992), and narrative inquiry (Murray, 1995), as well as the various modes of discourse analysis (e.g., Van Dijk, 1997a; Van Dijk, 1997b), will be useful to continue to employ. While each of these methodologies is unique, all share a common focus on people's everyday understandings as displayed in ordinary conversations, and what is accomplished in and through ordinary talk (Harre, 1997).

Thus, while the methodology of choice in the current study was to elicit narratives and then subject them to discourse analysis, many of these aforementioned methodologies could still accomplish exercise adherence research from a discursive perspective. This is because all of the methodologies mentioned here are concerned with how conversational participants use descriptive categories as resources to perform various kinds of discursive actions; i.e., talk is treated is a participant's resource, rather than as a researcher's explanatory resource (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998; Edwards, 1998). That said, ultimately, the methodology chosen must depend upon the specific research questions and the specific phenomenon of interest and investigation, just as it did in the current study.

Summary

To briefly sum up, discursive psychology purports to make a contribution to the understanding of exercise adherence via its differential view of language and the 'person'. Thus, while adherence research within representational psychology regards the internal "architecture" of the person as an important focal point for research and intervention, discursive psychology regards discourse, the subject positions it confers, and the historical and material institutions that reify and hold these places as important focal points for research and intervention.

Despite their different epistemological starting points, neither the representationalist or discursive perspective need be favored as the ultimate "answer" to the adherence problem. Instead, in light of what had been presented and discussed, it is suggested that discursive psychology can be a complementary theoretical tool to add to the exercise adherence research and intervention "tool box". This is because, even though mental terms/concepts are prevalent in psychologists' and subjects' speech, and hence topics of study in their own right within representational psychology, the *uses* of these words also have multiple meanings and social or illocutionary effects. This necessitates a need to look at how people are situated within discourses and how this affords and limits how they speak, feel, and behave. Therefore, discursive psychology is a useful tool to employ. It affords researchers the opportunity to understand *how* concepts emerge, *how* they are used, and their illocutionary effects. Moreover, employment of discursive psychology to study exercise adherence will not only continue to open up new avenues of research and spur the development of associated methodologies as the current study has, but it will also allow for a much-needed multi-pronged empirical examination of the adherence problem.

In closing, it is acknowledged that by attempting to bring ethnomethdology and poststructuralism together, each of which is predicated upon a large body of literature plagued with unresolved tensions, the goals of this dissertation were perhaps ambitious. Moreover, apart from these tensions, outside of exercise psychology and within the exercise adherence literature, many of the assertions and points raised in this dissertation have perhaps already been dealt with in other disciplines (e.g., sociology) and in relation to other behaviors (e.g., childcare practices). However, lest it be unclear, the contribution this dissertation sought to make was not toward the advancement of Social Theory more generally. Rather, the contribution this research stands to make is toward helping others incorporate physical activity into their lives. Given the link that physical activity has in the prevention of disease and the promotion of health, and that physical inactivity remains a problem, this contribution is an important one.

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Appendix A

Informed Consent and Information Letter - Exerciser

Part 1 (to be completed by the Principal Investigator):

Title of Project: Toward a Theory of Self and Identity for Understanding and Investigating Exercise Adherence

Principal Investigator(s): Kerry R. McGannon

Co-Investigator(s): Michael Mauws, PhD Affiliation and Phone Number: Supervisor, 492-2311

Part 2 (to be completed by the research participant):

Do you understand that you have been asked to be in a research study?	Yes	No
Have you read and received a copy of the attached Information Sheet?	Yes	No
Do you understand the benefits and risks involved in taking part in this research study?	Yes	No
Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study?	Yes	No
Do you understand that you are free to refuse to participate, or to withdraw from the study at any time, without consequence, and that your information will be withdrawn at your request?	Yes	No
Has the issue of confidentiality been explained to you? Do you understand who will have access to your information?	Yes	No

This study was explained to me by: ______________________________ I agree to take part in this study.

______________________________ ________________ ____________________

Signature of Research Participant Date Witness

Printed Name ________________________ Printed Name ____________________________

I believe that the person signing this form understands what is involved in the study and voluntarily agrees to participate.________________________________ ____________________

Signature of Investigator or Designee Date

All participants in research projects are advised that the information they provide, and any other information gathered for research projects, will be protected and used in compliance with Alberta's Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act (FOIPP).

Appendix A (cont.)

Information Letter for Participation in Research – Exercisers

"Toward a Theory of Self and Identity for Understanding & Investigating Exercise Adherence"

This is a research study being conducted for Kerry McGannon, MA, 468-5640, as part of her doctoral thesis, under the supervision of Michael Mauws, PhD, of the Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation, 492-2311.

The purpose of this research project is to study and explore people's thoughts, feelings, and experiences, as they adopt and participate in a regular exercise program. As well, how people's participation in a regular exercise program might affect their key relationships with others, and how those significant others might be affecting the people and their program, are also of interest. Because of this, we wish to keep track of your experiences via interviews, throughout the study, as well as those of any key people that you identify as important. Additionally, we also wish to keep track of your exercise behavior throughout your exercise program. A total of four women who are beginning an exercise program prior to having been inactive are being recruited for this study. As well, with each person's permission, her significant others will also be recruited to be interviewed for this study.

As a research participant, we wish to interview you at a time and place of your convenience, on five separate occasions. Additionally, these interviews will be tape recorded for the purposes of transcribing and analyzing at a later date. The first interview will take place approximately the first week of your exercise program. During this interview, you will also be asked to complete a brief questionnaire about yourself (e.g., your name, age, occupation).

Additionally, you will be asked to identify those individuals you feel are key relationships in your life. With *your permission*, we will contact these individuals, and ask each one to meet *individually* with the researcher, at a time and place of his/her convenience, on two separate occasions. The first interview for significant others will take place approximately within the first week of you beginning your program, and again at the end of your program. Each individual will be asked questions about his/her thoughts, feelings, and experiences as they relate to your exercise program, and how he/she feels the program might be affecting him/her. Interviews with your significant others should require approximately 30 to 45 minutes of their time. The total time commitment to this study for them is approximately two hours.

The second interview will take place after the third week of your exercise program. The third interview will take place after the fifth week of your program, and the fourth interview will take place within the last week of your program. The fifth and final interview will take place approximately one month after you have completed your exercise program. During the interviews, you will be asked questions about your thoughts, feelings, and experiences as they relate to your exercise. Each interview will require approximately 45 minutes to one hour of your time. The total time commitment to this study will be approximately five hours. As a research participant in this study, we will also ask you to record when you exercise, and for how long you exercise at a given time, over the eight weeks.

All questionnaires and interviews will be held in confidence, and will be viewed and listened to by only the investigators of this study. Additionally, all data collected will be kept in a locked filing cabinet to which only the investigators of this study will have access. The responses on

Appendix A (cont.)

questionnaires and interviews will only be used for the write up of the dissertation for which this research is sought, as well as any related research presentations, publications, and educational purposes. Following data collection and analysis, the raw data will be retained for a period of five years post-publication, after which it will be destroyed. No responses will be identified with anyone personally. Any names noted will only be used for the purposes of keeping track of individuals and matching up of significant others' interviews with the appropriate exerciser. After data is collected, names will be removed and pseudonyms or "case numbers" will be used for all participants. While anonymity cannot be guaranteed because certain marks in the end report may be identified, this procedure will guarantee confidentiality of responses of respondents once the interviews are completed.

While there are no major risks associated with your participation in this study, given the instrumentation used to collect the data (i.e., interviews), the risks associated with participation revolve around the disclosure of information. This may make some people uncomfortable. If appropriate, referral to a counsellor will be provided. Additionally, should you not wish to respond to any questions asked at any time during the study, you are free to decline. You are also free to withdraw from the study at any time without any personal consequence or penalty. This means that withdrawal from this study will in no way affect your participation in your chosen Campus Recreation program. Upon your withdrawal, your information will be removed from the study should you request that it be removed.

By signing the attached consent form, you are consenting to participate in this research. Your contribution to the research process is very much appreciated. In participating, there may be some direct benefits to you such as personal enjoyment and the gain of personal insights. Your participation may also benefit others. These benefits include the discovery of information that can aide in the development of services and programs to affect people's future adherence to exercise programs, and how we might go about affording people with positive experiences as they go through the process of lifestyle change. As well, it is very important for us to find out what people who are actually in the process of making lifestyle change think about and experience as they go through that process, so contributions from individuals such as yourself are invaluable.

The Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation has approved this study. If you have any questions, comments, or concerns about this research project, you may contact Dr. Debra Shogan, Associate Dean (Research and Graduate Studies) at 492-5910. The Associate Dean has no direct involvement with this project.

Appendix B

Informed Consent and Information Letter – Significant Others

Part 1 (to be completed by the Principal Investigator):

Title of Project: Toward a Theory of Self and Identity for Understanding and Investigating Exercise Adherence

Principal Investigator(s): Kerry R. McGannon

Co-Investigator(s): Michael Mauws, PhD Affiliation and Phone Number: Supervisor, 492-2311

Part 2 (to be completed by the research participant):

Do you understand that you have been asked to be in a research study?	Yes	No
Have you read and received a copy of the attached Information Sheet?	Yes	No
Do you understand the benefits and risks involved in taking part in this research study?	Yes	No
Have you had an opportunity to ask questions and discuss this study?	Yes	No
Do you understand that you are free to refuse to participate, or to withdraw from the study at any time, without consequence, and that your information will be withdrawn at your request?	Yes	No
Has the issue of confidentiality been explained to you? Do you understand who will have access to your information?	Yes	No

This study was explained to me by: ______________________________

I agree to take part in this study.

______________________________ ______________ ____________________

Signature of Research Participant Date Witness

Printed Name________________ Printed Name ____________________

I believe that the person signing this form understands what is involved in the study and voluntarily agrees to participate.

________________________________ ________________

Signature of Investigator or Designee Date

All participants in research projects are advised that the information they provide, and any other information gathered for research projects, will be protected and used in compliance with Alberta's Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act (FOIPP).

Appendix B (cont.)

Information Letter for Participation in Research – Significant Others

"Toward a Theory of Self and Identity for Understanding & Investigating Exercise Adherence"

This is a research study being conducted for Kerry McGannon, MA, 468-5640, as part of her doctoral thesis, under the supervision of Michael Mauws, PhD, of the Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation, 492-2311.

The purpose of this research project is to study and explore people's thoughts, feelings, and experiences, as they adopt and participate in a regular exercise program. As well, how people's participation in a regular exercise program might affect their key relationships with others, and how those significant others might be affecting the people and their program, are also of interest. A total of four women who are beginning an exercise program prior to having been inactive are being recruited for this study. As well, with each person's permission, her significant others will also be recruited to be interviewed for this study.

As a research participant, we wish to interview you at a time and place of your convenience on two separate occasions. Additionally, these interviews will be tape recorded for the purposes of transcribing and analyzing at a later date. The interviews will take place approximately two weeks before your significant other begins her exercise program, and again at the end of her program. It is important that you be made aware that your significant other has given us permission to interview you should you agree. During the interviews, you will be asked questions about your thoughts, feelings, and experiences as they relate to your significant other beginning an exercise program, and how you think the program might be affecting her, as well as yourself. These interviews should require approximately 30 to 45 minutes of your time. The total time commitment to this study for you is approximately two hours.

All questionnaires and interviews will be held in confidence, and will be viewed and listened to by only the investigators of this study. Additionally, all data collected will be kept in a locked filing cabinet to which only the investigators of this study will have access. The responses on questionnaires and interviews will only be used for the write up of the dissertation for which this research is sought, as well as any related research presentations, publications, and educational purposes. Following data collection and analysis, the raw data will be retained for a period of five years post-publication, after which it will be destroyed. No responses will be identified with anyone personally. Any names noted will only be used for the purposes of keeping track of individual cases and the matching up of significant others' interviews with the appropriate case. After data is collected, names will be removed and pseudonyms or "case numbers" will be used for all participants. While anonymity cannot be guaranteed because certain marks in the end report may be identified, this procedure will guarantee confidentiality of responses of respondents once the interviews are completed.

While there are no major risks associated with your participation in this study, given the instrumentation used to collect the data (i.e., interviews), the risks associated with participation revolve around the disclosure of information. This may make some people uncomfortable. If appropriate, referral to a counsellor will be provided. Additionally, should you not wish to respond to any questions asked at any time during the study, you are free to decline.

You are also free to withdraw from the study at any time without any personal consequence or penalty. Upon your withdrawal, your information will be removed from the study should you request that it be removed.

By signing the attached consent form, you are consenting to participate in this research. Your contribution to the research process is very much appreciated. In participating, there may be some direct benefits to you such as personal enjoyment and the gain of personal insights. Your participation may also benefit others. These benefits include the discovery of information that can aide in the development of services and programs to affect people's future adherence to exercise programs, and how we might go about affording people with positive experiences as they go through the process of lifestyle change. As well, it is very important for us to find out what people who are actually in the process of making lifestyle change think about and experience as they go through that process, so contributions from individuals such as yourself are invaluable.

The Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation has approved this study. If you have any questions, comments, or concerns about this research project, you may contact Dr. Debra Shogan, Associate Dean (Research and Graduate Studies) at 492-5910. The Associate Dean has no direct involvement with this project.

Appendix C

Personal Information - Exercisers

Name:
Age:
e-mail address:

Home Phone #:
Work #:
Occupation:

Please list those with whom you currently live and their relationship to you (e.g.Gary - husband):

Have you ever been involved in an exercise program? (please circle one)
YES NO

If yes, when did you participate, how long did you participate (please include how many times per week, and the total number of weeks), and what specifically did you do?

Please list any recreational activities in which you are *currently* involved as well as how much time spent on each one, and how many times per week you do them.

Please list any significant others and a means of contacting them, that you would consent to me interviewing during the course of your eight week exercise program.

Please indicate the following:

How often do you plan to exercise each week?

How long will each session be?

What type of exercise do you plan to do?

Appendix D

Initial Interview Questions – Exerciser

1. Tell me about some possible reasons as to why you want to begin an exercise program.
2. Tell me about what you think the transition into exercising will be like; i.e., what do you anticipate your experiences will be like as you start to become an exercise?
3. Tell me a story or stories that would characterize some of your past experiences with exercise.
4. Tell me about what you think some of the difficulties of becoming an exerciser might be for you.
5. Tell me what you think some of the good things/advantages of becoming an exerciser might be for you.
6. How do you think people close to you feel about your starting this program? Can you provide an example of a specific person along with how they might react to your starting this program (i.e., who would be someone close to you and what would be some reactions he/she might to you being involved in this program)?
7. Can you give me an example of some other activities that you like to do on a weekly basis? What are those experiences like for you? Can you think of story about some of those activities?

These questions were supplemented with the following probes when necessary: what was that experience like for you? Can you tell me more about that?

Appendix E

Interview Questions (During Program) – Exerciser

1. How have things been going? Tell me about what the transition into exercising has been like. Can you give me a specific instance or example from the past few weeks?
2. Tell me a story or stories that characterize your exercise experiences so far.
3. Tell me about the times this week when you didn't want to attend an exercise session. What was that experience like? Can you provide an example or story about that? How did you overcome it?
4. Tell me about the times this week when things came up that impeded an exercise session. Do you have any stories about not attending a scheduled session?
5. Tell me about the times this week when things came up that helped get you to an exercise session. What would be some stories about what facilitated your exercise this week?

Appendix F

Interview Questions (Follow-Up) – Exerciser

1. How have things been going since we last talked?
2. How has your participation in the exercise program affected your life beyond exercise?
3. What would be an example of this with respect to each of your key/significant relationships? What would be an example of this with respect to your involvement in activities currently?
4. If you've been able to maintain a regular program, what has that been like for you? What kinds of things characterize that experience for you? What has facilitated this (Can you think of a story?)
5. If you haven't been able to maintain a regular programs, what has that transition been like? What kinds of things characterize that experience for you? What has impeded this? (Can you think of a story surrounding that experience?)
6. How would you describe yourself right now in relation to exercise?

Appendix G

Initial Interview Questions – Significant Others

1. Tell me about why you think she is beginning an exercise program (i.e., what are some of the reasons this person is beginning an exercise program)? How do you feel about this?
2. Tell me a story or an example that you think would characterize the kinds of things she currently likes to do.
3. Tell me how you would characterize her (i.e., what are some things you can say about her that would sum up who she is or the kind of person she is). Can you provide some specific stories or examples to illustrate what you mean?
4. Tell me how you would characterize your relationship with this person. What would be an example of this? Can you think of story?
5. What kinds of things/outcomes do you think will result for *her* in her undertaking this program?
6. What kinds of things/outcomes do you think will result for *you* in her undertaking this program? What might be an example(s) of how this could affect you?

Appendix H

Final Interview Questions – Significant Others

1. Tell me about what you've noticed about her as she's undertaken this program.
2. Tell me a story that might characterize how you've seen exercise affecting her life.
3. Tell me some stories or instances about how her exercise program has affected you. What was that experience like?
4. How do you currently view her? Can you provide some examples of this?